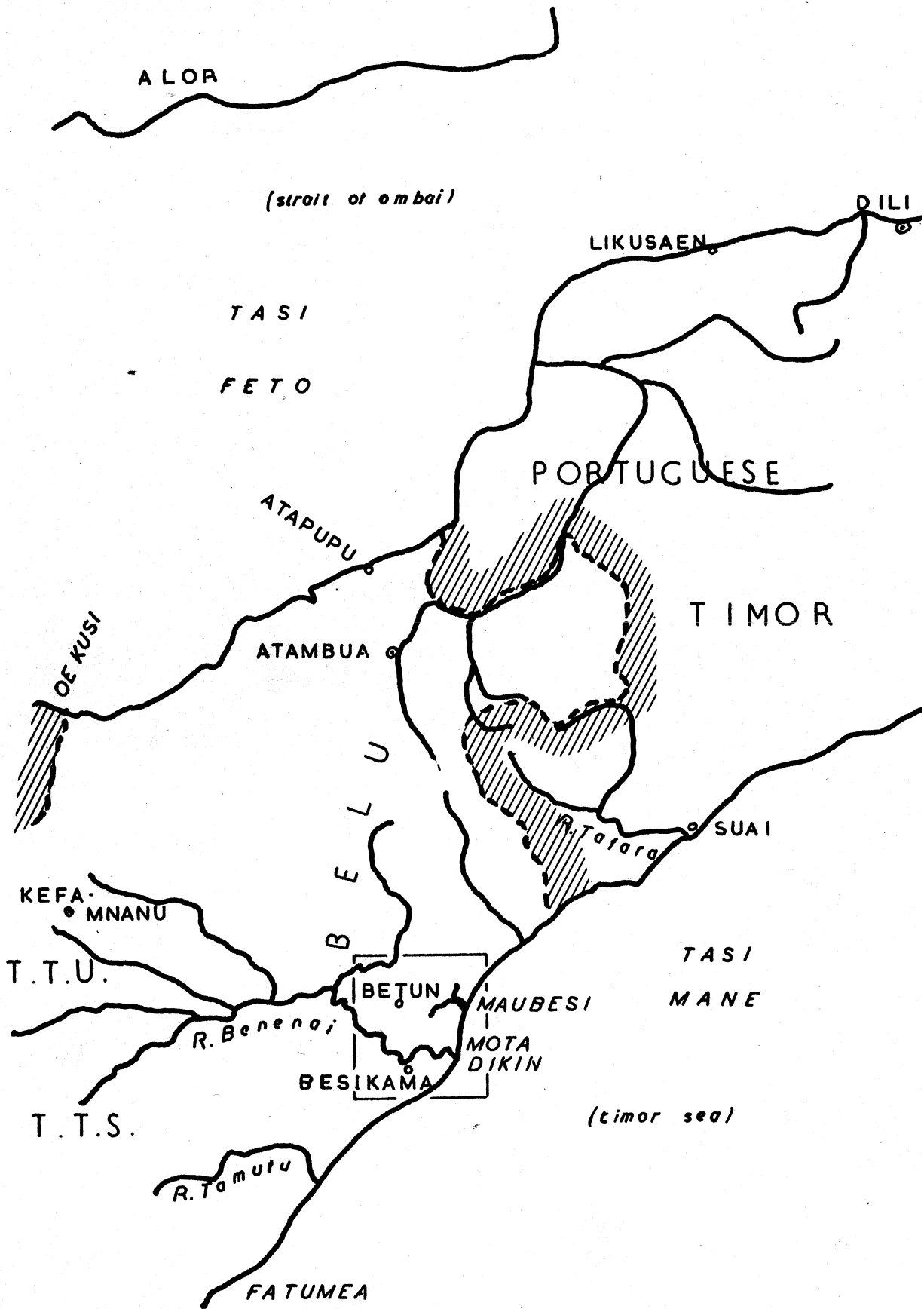

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ALOR

(strait of ombai)

DILI

LIKUSAEN

TASI

FETO

PORTUGUESE

TIMOR

ATAPUPU

OE KUSI

ATAMBUA

B
E
L
U

SUAI

KEFA-MNANU

T.T.U.

TASI
MANE

BETUN

MAUBESI

R. Benenai

MOTA
DIKIN

T.T.S.

(timor sea)

BESIKAMA

R. Tamutu

FATUMEA

SOME MATRIARCHIC ASPECTS OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE
SOUTHERN TETUN OF MIDDLE TIMOR

Gérard Francillon

Thesis submitted for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in the
Australian National University.

2nd May 1967

To the S.V.D. Missionaries in Timor

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PREFACE

A research scholarship of the Australian National University, Canberra, has made possible the preparation and execution of field work, and the completion of this dissertation to be submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Timor is not among the favoured fields of the students of Australia; they have at their disposal a large choice of places and peoples who are, if not closer than Timor, at least of much easier access. Except during the tragic years of World War II, Timor has never been a much heard-of place. About one half of the literature, moreover, is in Dutch, most of the remainder being in Portuguese.

~~Although~~ Insufficiently studied societies to our North are many; ~~and~~, even/ ~~for~~ those which have been much studied ^{have} ~~the~~ problems yet to be solved ^{which} ~~are~~ equally many, ^Y Timor, and particularly the region known as Belu, has been chosen for its theoretical interest, namely, its alleged prescriptive alliance system. The existence of such a system was probable according to H.J. GRIJZEN, a 'controleur' of the Dutch administration who published a short monograph in 1904. Professor B.A.G. VROKLAGE, on the other hand, who conducted an extensive ethnographic survey of the whole of Belu in 1937 was of the contrary opinion and denied most contemptuously the existence of any form of circulating connubium, although the kinship terminologies which he recorded were not categorically against it.

Dr R. NEEDHAM, who supervised my work during the Diploma and B.Litt. courses at the Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford, and who had already been engaged for some time upon a 'minute and one by one examination of the societies characterized by a compulsory rule of marriage' (Lévi-Strauss in Bastide 1962: 40), suggested to me that I should conduct my research in this particular part of Timor. The Belu Subdivision had the further peculiarity of being divided into two sub-cultures, the first in the north being patrilineal with virilocal marriage, and the second in the southern plain matrilineal with uxrilocal marriage. The project took ~~st~~ ~~form~~ consequently, to study this particular area in the South in order to see if the men really do circulate by connubium in a matrilineal society which prescribes marriage with the mother's brother's daughter, as one is lead to think is the case with the semi-nomadic Siriono of eastern Bolivia and the swidden cultivating Mnong Gar of central Viêt Nam. Professor J.A. BARNES and Dr J.D. FREEMAN as Head of Department and as Supervisor, respectively, agreed that I should go to Indonesian Timor for a field trip of about 18 months, and accordingly provided generous material, intellectual and moral support.

I left for Timor in October 1962 accompanied by my wife and child, then aged 4, via Dili, capital of the Portuguese Overseas Province of Timor, with a special visa of the Indonesian Government to enter Indonesia by this route. Recommendations and personal interventions by Professor Sir John CRAWFORD and Dr H. FEITH helped very much towards the obtaining of this special authorization. Although actual travel from Canberra to the subdivision of Belu takes a mere 5 days, it was not until Christmas,

or until after two months, that we could consider ourse as more or less settled at our base of Betun. The delay can be attributed to inadequate transport facilities and of communications generally in this part of Indonesia. Thus the simplest problems of an administrative kind or of supply require weeks for their solution or are altogether insoluble. A somewhat longer time was necessary in leaving the country to return to Australia via the same route, when most of my difficulties arose from a desire to avoid calling at Djakarta. I left Betun at the end of April and arrived in Canberra in mid-July 1964. However the time I was able to devote to ethnography was not even the 16 months between these two dates for about two months in all had to be spent in lengthy journeys to the Residency capital Kupang, once, and to the Regency capital, Atambua, some 4 or 5 times, in attempts to solve problems of bureaucracy and supply. In these matters I often received much help from Mr A.A. BERE-TALLO, Chief Executive of the Subdivision or Regency of Belu (Bupati Kepala Daerah Swatantra Tingkat II Belu), from the Subdivision Secretary Mr A.N. PATTIWAEI, and most considerately and faithfully from the North Western District Officer (Kepala Ketjamatan Tasi Feto Barat) Mr B.J. MANEK and his family whose generous hospitality and assistance, both material and moral, was best appreciated when we realized the hardship to which they were themselves subjected. I recall the hospitality and assistance given by the two successive District Officers of Eastern and Central Malaka, Mr E.J. LAKKA and Mr L.S. TEESERAN who each in turn offered to share their official house in Betun during our stay there. It is difficult to state how much gratitude is owed to the Reverend Fathers, Sisters and Friars of the Missionary Society of the

Divine Word, (S.V.D.) who, slightly suspicious and hesitating as to what to expect from us in the beginning regretted in the end the departure of a family which they considered as 'a living illustration for their moral and sanitarian teachings'. Suspicious or not, they always showed the greatest eagerness to offer any assistance which was only limited by the poor conditions of existence equal for all - in that part of eastern Indonesia.

In the beginning of our stay, particularly in towns such as Kupang and Atambua, the Indonesian language (Bahasa Indonesia) which both my wife and I had studied long before - mainly at the Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris - was used. Communication became more difficult at our base of Betun where nearly all of the people we had to deal with had practically no knowledge of Indonesian. The local language, Tetun, which definitely belongs to the Indonesian family of languages is not, fortunately, very complex and its pronunciation does not offer insurmountable difficulties to French tongues. Its difficulties lie elsewhere and some of them will be briefly examined in the course of this dissertation. Tuition in the language would have been useful and we spared no effort to find a coach, but for various circumstantial reasons we could not find a permanent teacher, nor later, any kind of permanent assistant. The economic conditions prevailing at the moment in Timor account for a great part of this situation. By employing a bilingual native I would take from him time otherwise devoted to his garden work and, owing to the rate of exchange, I was unable to offer a salary to compensate for the absence of a crop. I was not able to offer payment in kind either, for paper-money was no more to me than to the people themselves a suitable means of

procuring trade or other goods, such as cloth, yarn, and kerosene, which can be exchanged for food and services. The Government for its offices, and the Mission for its schools, workshops and building sites succeed well enough in recruiting, except that in the case of the workshops and building sites the missionaries have to rely on other ethnic groups such as the Dawan or the Buná, the Tetun people of the south Belu plain keeping away from the proletarian condition. As for the teaching and public services, their members are provided, in addition to the very low salaries, with the compensation of various material benefits, such as army style shoes, uniforms, plus the assurance of being given priority when cloth, yarn or kerosene were made available at low government price; and further, the not negligible assurance of obtaining generous leave for most occasions of the agricultural and ceremonial cycles. In such conditions, only temporary, occasional informants could be used; they broadly fall into two categories, those who would not accept any reward, not even gifts, in order to avoid being tied in any way, and those whose claims were exorbitant in relation to the service and information given. A very few did not belong to either category, and can be termed familiars or companions; the list of their names is very short, they were: Fransiscus Bere Feto Malak, Balthazar Seran Manek Bot, Cornelis Baria Lak Metan, Kalau Fahik Fouk and Domenicus Nahak. As familiar as they became in the end none of them ever was regular, assiduous or even interested enough to deserve the title of 'assistant'. Nothing approaching the kind of devoted guide-interpreter assistant, whom some colleagues working in other parts of the world are able to attach themselves, was ever obtained. This is the main reason why I did not succeed in combining

thoroughly a whole village or a series of villages with censuses, inventories, and genealogies. Information of this kind which I finally obtained came from different villages, and, as even a superficial observer would soon realize, the villages are far from all following the same pattern.

The absence of an assistant was particularly painful in the beginning but was felt during the whole of my stay for several texts which I had recorded from the very beginning were left untranscribed (let alone translated and commented upon) until practically the last few weeks. These texts - narratives, epic poems sung in choirs, etc. were mostly recorded, on tape, to assist me in learning language. They became in fact an attraction and a means to get on easily with the people: the tape-recorder and I rarely missed an important gathering. It is on such occasions that old men feel more inclined to speak about their customs and history, although there is always some restraint caused by the fear of the one who speaks to divulge his precious knowledge ~~and~~ that he may 'die a bad death' if, being not knowledgeable enough, a contradictor interrupts and says: wrong!

How to attract people was never a serious problem, since apart from the tape-recorder, I had a wife and a child. We soon realized on the contrary that our problem was how to get rid of unwanted swarms of on-lookers. Market days, national feasts and anniversaries were always trying in this respect. These occasions brought into 'town' from the surrounding villages groups of youths and files of women and children who came quite determined to repay visits which I had made on some previous occasion to scrutinize us as closely as I had them. I had been grateful at the allocation of financial support enabling me to tal

my wife with me as a precious auxiliary in the investigation of a 'matriarchal' society. But, although her participation in my research was quite extensive and her contribution to the results she obtained, quite valuable, she could unfortunately devote only a small proportion of her time to actual research, the rest of it being taken up in the absorbing task of maintaining an acceptable standard of hygiene in the house. This was particularly made necessary by the presence of our daughter. As leaving her behind had been out of question, there was no alternative but to take her along with us, but we soon realized that the advantages for her as well as for us, were counterbalanced by the fact that she was a constant source of anxiety to my wife who had to prevent her from testing the depth of every mud-puddle and the taste of every fruit. These childish experiments would have been less disturbing if the nearest doctor had been nearer than two days journey on foot. But, apart from some common diseases of children and the hardly avoidable malarial fevers, health was maintained at a reasonable level, and the child did not suffer too much. She, at least, recovered well in the few months following our return to Australia. But taking a young child on such a field expedition is an experiment we cannot recommend and which we shall not attempt again, except if this is to be done in a country where the health service and communications are under European control or of a comparable standard.

N.B. Neither this dissertation nor any part of it is intended for publication or non-academic circulation in its present form.

entailed a return to eroticism, and tended to a regression in the development of vegetation towards spontaneous generation, profusion and abundance characteristic of the low sodden soils. This vegetative condition of the early world had been the setting of the promiscuous age of human society. On the contrary, to a matriarchal golden age corresponded a vegetative evolution leading to a woman-controlled agriculture on firm grounds, on a generous Demetric earth which yielded only to ordered labour.

In the course of historical times - which are in Bachofen's conception almost co-extensive to the total geological and palaeontological times - there had been variations in the shading of the successive stages of matriarchy and patriarchy, and finally the latter triumphed and succeeded in obliterating the former stages. These shadings were due to changes in the religious systems, and are largely to be accounted for by external influences. For instance, in the case of the Dionysiac period, the phallic cults were brought back from Asia by the armies of Alexander the Great. The assumption which underlies this is obvious. Other areas had other systems, and their evolution was not synchronic to that of the Ancient World and at times there was interference - in both ways alternatively - between the centre (Athens and Rome) and the ends of the earth. The further we go, the lower the level of evolution we meet. Wilhelm Schmidt, Fritz Graebner and their 'Kulturkreis' school of ethnology, alone, bear the criticisms for this view, but it is largely imputable to Bachofen's evolutionistic theory.

Now matriarchy is certainly an ambiguous term in the use of anyone who does not hold with Bachofen ^{that} ~~for~~ an ~~actual~~ stage of mother-rule ~~to have~~ actually developed, endured and declined, ~~and in~~ which women had political and military powers in their hands. Numerous authors who could not admit this extreme sense of the word but who would not either get rid of it, have ~~t~~^emppered it down. Tylor is one of them and Malinowski is another. E.B. Tylor, in his famous article on method in ethnology, scarcely used the term which he restricted to meaning either descent and succession through women, or residence with wife's maternal kin after marriage, or a combination of both. But, yielding to the mode of the time, eight years later, he rewrote the article, first published in the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, for The Nineteen Century under the title 'The Matriarchal Family System'. B. Malinowski, back from the Trobriands, published shorter accounts variously entitled 'Mutterrechtliche Familie, etc.'; Complex and Myth in Mother-right', 'Forschungen in einer mutterrechtliche Gemeinschaft'. But, in reverse to Tylor's procedure, he tended to reduce the conspicuousness of the term on reissuing the articles as chapters in 'Sex and Repression etc.', and in 'The Sexual Life, etc.'.

Several contemporary and later authors wondered just what underlied the term and whether mother-right was the proper rendering for 'Mutterrecht', instead of matriarchy or matriarchate or vice versa. To my sense, they are just as equivalent and just as improper when applied to anything else than what Bachofen meant. Both Tylor and

Malinowski appear to be simply mistaken.¹ But it is in Malinowski that the mistake is more conspicuous when he is seen to introduce the concept of potestas in his 'matriarchal' society, a potestas vested in the maternal uncle. It is clear that the proper term, in the case of the Trobrianders, should be 'avunculo-potestal' and not otherwise, but a catchword such as 'matriarchal' is hard to get rid of. Incidentally, whether the term is a Greek or a Latin compound, or an English or German derivation of a Latin root *regs-, or of yet another primitive Latin root *potse- does not make much difference ultimately in meaning.²

If it is proposed to retain the term 'matriarchal' to qualify the society under examination, it is for reasons provided by its ideological and actual structure,^{and} its mythical and actual history, and in consideration of the status of women in their role of mothers, sisters, and wives.

The Tetun-speaking kingdom of Wehali, and its immediate neighbours of the plain of south middle Timor, have a strictly matrilineal and uxorilocal social organization. They are surrounded by a hill people, most of them also Tetun-speakers, whose organization is essentially patrilineal and virilocal. The contrast is

1

Tylor (1885:459) "...among the Arabs to this day, strongly patriarchal as their society is in most respects, there survives that most matriarchal idea that one's nearest relative is not one's father, but one's maternal uncle". Malinowski (1927:26) "'Matriarchate' - the rule of the mother - does not in any way entail a stern, terrible mother-virago".

2

Partridge 1958:s.v.

not limited to these features and it does not amount to a just-so table of oppositions between two neighbouring and antagonistic cultures. On the contrary, a wide politico-religious system underlies and justifies this contrast.

Firstly, the system has been made possible by several extraneous conditions which belong to the physical order. The Wehali social system would probably not have developed in this way on a coral reef or in a steppe, to take extreme examples.

Secondly, there are historical reasons for the system to have been devised and applied with an aim towards political dominance, but this is a native theory and, although as such it has no more and no less value than Bachofen's, it can be maintained that it ~~holds its~~ value as a rationalization of an existing situation. The existence of the politico-religious system as it stands, or as it ought to be ideally, and the entailments of it in most sectors of this culture, belong to the sociological order.

Thirdly, a complementary study of the genesis and aetiology of this culture would have to be done on a psychological level. But, at this stage of the study, only indications can be made of the directions into which this might be done.

Although each of the three orders corresponds to a particular aspect of time - permanence of the physical order, synchrony for the sociological and diachrony for the psychological conditions - it is evident that they are all intricately interwoven in reality.

The conditions of the physical order are those of geography, climate and general environment, as well as

those of physical anthropology and of the material culture of the regions considered.

In this island of the Little Sunda Archipelago, Wehali in the south plain of its middle part, has been kept away from foreign contacts through the centuries by a central mountain ridge, on the one hand, and by an inhospitable sea, on the other. The quality of the soil ^{and} the climate favoured a relative prosperity and variety in production in exchange of minimum labour. Land was, and still is, easily available.

These peoples of middle Timor distinguish themselves in general by the use of a language, Tetun, which belongs more closely to the Common Indonesian family than those of most of their hill neighbours, particularly those of Eastern Timor where affinities are noticeable with languages of the West Irian peninsula (Vogelkop). Among the Tetun-speakers themselves, it is the peoples of the south plains of Wehali and Suai who are also the most distinctly Indonesian in their physical characters ~~in comparison~~ ^{with} ~~respect~~ of their hill neighbours, an impression which is confirmed by an analysis of the data recorded by Vroklage in 1937 and tabulated by Barge [1942, 43-45].

On the one hand, the ecological conditions provide ~~few~~ ^{little} opportunities inside the society of Wehali to create a spirit of competition and emulation, while on the other hand, they add up with these cultural features to mean for Wehali a superiority over its hill neighbours, due to a greater ease in life and a higher degree of refinement in manners and appearance.

The conditions of the sociological order belong to several domains. Whether in the mythical history and in whatever can be safely reconstructed of the actual

history of the area, or from the recent attempts of the administration to deal with its organization, diarchy stands out as the main principle. According to it, there is a male and a female power, ^{the} female power is vested in Wehali kingship which is dominant over the male vassal states. In the diarchy, women in Wehali are also dominant over men in their households. In matters of kinship and marriage, descent and succession, uxori-locality appears to be both the consequence and the condition of women's dominance, or at least the necessary guarantee for its upholding.

Strict uxori-locality results in the ideas of permanence, stability, ^{and} continuity being associated with femininity and in leaving to women alone the ultimate authority, although it is by no means a gynaeocratic authority as had been imagined by Bachofen and ratified by some of its most daring followers such as, for instance, M. and M. Vaerting in 'The Dominant Sex', Pierre Gordon in 'Initiation sexuelle et évolution', Robert Graves in 'The Greek Myths'.

Men indeed have some authority in their hands too. This is particularly the case ^{with} of the administrative authority, ^{which} ~~but it~~ is a recent duty imposed upon them since colonization has reached their country. The traditional system does not require ~~from~~ them to be anything else than the visible representatives, the mobile deputies or holders of powers kept under the custody of women in the form of the houses themselves and their sacred contents. The rule of uxori-locality was not consequently detrimental to the traditional lord in the accomplishment of his functions, since he had so few of these. ~~or~~ ^{to} put it in another way, his functions were

made so insignificant because, as a result of the uxori-local rule of residence, he had to live away from his 'constituency'. The carrying out of the recently imposed administrative duties results for those who are involved in them (the lords mainly, but also some civil servants) in a compromise, temporary neolocality. In the traditional government, the lords were neither war-leaders nor judicial officers; commoner officials were vested with these functions. But even for them, powers of these kinds which they exerted in the name of their femininely connotated lords, were only held in the name of their own mothers and sisters whose houses were the seat of these functions. Ultimately, it was in the hands of the women that these powers laid.

Mobility of the men, who really neither belong to their natal nor to their conjugal houses, results for them in a loss of stability and of consciousness of permanence for their enterprises. They are not ~~the~~ essential, either in the state or in the house; they are the transitory element.

The main result of these dispositions for the suzerain kingdom of Wehali is a ^{division} ~~dissociation~~ of political power into a passive, sacred power and an active, profane but insignificant - power, a situation which accounts for the difficulties encountered in the attempts made from the beginning of the century to make regents out of the local lords.

In a parallel way, the situation in the house, which ~~lies within the range~~ ^{from a} ~~of~~ nuclear family to ^a matrilineage, results, through uxori-locality, in an elimination of its male members (brothers and maternal uncles) and their replacement by male residents (husbands and fathers).

Two consequences of this will be apparent in the many aspects of the life of this society. Firstly, the ephemeral value attached to men in their roles of husband and fathers ^{is} ~~as~~ seen in the difficulties they encounter in keeping their individual names remembered for more than a couple of generations, and ⁱⁿ the vanity of their brother-uncle roles in their natal households, once they are separated from them at marriage.

Secondly, ^{there is} the continuity of the female line which suffers no interruption, and the inseparability of women from their houses.

In part one, the society will be examined in its external aspects, its environment, and in its dealings with ^{the environment} ~~it~~ in the past and in the present. The relative length of this first part is warranted by the absence of any comprehensive presentation of its setting in the literature.

In the second part, the society will be seen from an internal point of view, as it were, that is from the house, governed as it is by the exigencies of the rule of uxori-locality. The attitudes of its members and residents towards one another, in relation to their sex, to their status of kin or affine, and to the formal position which they occupy in the house will be seen ~~at~~ ^{at} ~~along~~ the various stages of the building of a house and in the progress of some of the events sacred and profane which take place in it. The house will appear, it is hoped, as a microcosm of the society of the south plains of Wehali and Suai and of the Great Timor Empire as it is conceived to have existed.

The diarchy will thus appear not exclusively as a political principle but as one effect of the great sexual

dichotomy of persons, things, and concepts in which the southern Tetun-speakers classify their world. In this male and female classification, the dominance of womanhood is affirmed through an inversion of some of the most classic couples of oppositions and enhanced by an overevaluation of whatever is thus femininely characterized. Death, hell and darkness, all sacred and feminine, are considered in the logic of the system as superior to, or more powerful than, life, coolness and light, all profane and masculine characters. The house itself is the tight frame where these associations and oppositions are illustrated throughout life and death, and maintained in the succession of the generations.

The plan of the house, which by itself conditions the segregation of the sexes, ^{manifests these} ~~realizes the concretization of~~ the oppositions in ~~relation to~~ its masculine and feminine compartments. Under the pretence of showing respect towards women, the men really reveal their fear ^{of} ~~from~~ the women. The excesses of these attitudes and feelings in turn reveal an excessive concern for, and an excessive control of, sexual matters.

Fear of sex and fear of women will find sufficient illustrations in numerous aspects of social life. This attitude of one sex towards the other is the basis of the ideology of women's dominance. As this fear is dereistic, indeed it is unwarranted by reality, its genesis would need a particular study which is not attempted here, for it would have been necessary to approach this field with a full awareness of the developments of ethology, primatology and palaeoanthropology for an assessment, specially, of the fundamental nature of the mother-son bond.

NOTE ON THE PRONUNCIATION AND
TRANSCRIPTION OF TETUN WORDS

Tetun Language was not written prior to the introduction of Latin script. The earliest transcription of Tetun words is found in Pigafetta's report (circa 1525) on his travels through the Eastern Archipelago. He mentions there the names of the settlements of the four south coast kings: 'oibich lichsana suai et Cabanaza'. The name of the first port to be mentioned on Timor, Atapupu, in the Tetun-speaking area, is transcribed ATAFUFFUZ by Diogo Ribeiro on the map he drew in 1527 and in 1529.

Many factors intervened in the various modes of transcription: place of origin of the informants and interpreters, standard of pronunciation at the time of recording, degree of attention paid by the recorder, but most of all his own nationality, Italian in the case of Pigafetta, Portuguese and Dutch for most subsequent travellers, missionaries, colonial servants.

Oibich	Lichsana,	Suai	and Cabanaza
have undergone the following variations:			
Ai Bikoe	Lixsan, Lixan	Soay	Camanace
Oi Bikoni	Loksan	Soeway	Cumenace
Babico	Lioksang	Soeai	Camenassa
Wai Wikoe	Likossá, Liquiça		Kamannassa

These names to my ear, are best rendered as

Wewiku,	Likusaen,	Suai,	Kamanassa
---------	-----------	-------	-----------

although many local and individual variations can be found. For instance Babiku is very often heard for Wewiku, especially in the district which bears that name. Similarly for Liksa, Soai, Kamnassa, but I tend to adopt the pronunciation and the transcription which prevail in Wehale (in the literature sometimes written Behale, Vaihali or Wai Hale). It is also the spelling which is adopted at

present by the Administration and the school teachers. They are inspired in this - quite rightly - by the mode of spelling of the modern Indonesian language (Bahasa Indonesia). The former Dutch oe is written u, the intervocalic voiceless consonants are no longer doubled as they used to be in : Tettoem, Malakka and Kamanassa, for instance.

Consonants in Tetun are: l, m, n, s, t. Several other consonants are not quite stable; they vary from one place to another and also from one individual to another sometimes.

b and w as in Wewiku ~ Bebiku

f and v as in vover ~ fofer, oar

d and r. The word for 'wild duck' is quite remarkable and is always quoted as an example of the diversity of pronunciation according to the locality by the people themselves:

kdare in Wehali

kdade in Suai

krade and krare in Wewiku

K is quite plain in most cases as in kahuk, blowpipe but it is only very slightly sounded, almost unnoticeable when it precedes an initial consonant, voiced or not.

<u>kdare</u>	could be	<u>dare</u>	wild duck
<u>kbadak</u>	" "	<u>badak</u>	short
<u>ktasak</u>	" "	<u>tasak</u>	ripe, cooked
<u>kroman</u>	" "	<u>roman</u>	clear
<u>kmeda</u>	" "	<u>meda</u>	'kuskus', a small tree marsupial,

without any change of semantic value, whereas the change of a final k for an n very often conveys an important modification of meaning, as in: tasak: ripe, cooked

tasan: silver ornament,
not the 'crude'

silver of coins (Netherlands Indies guilders, Mexican pe and Portuguese escudos) but silver which has been melted ('cooked') and cast into ornaments such as arm-rings, ch plates, etc.

~~It further happens to~~ k, when it is intervocalic, ~~it~~ is aspirated. The intensity of this aspiration varie with the speaker more than with the locality and is generally ignored in transcription. Laka, shining, burning, would be best rendered as lahka, kokon, to try, as kohkon. But neither is it aspirated in niki, flying- nor in fukun, knuckle. Aspiration also occurs in laku, the 'musang' civet-cat, but neither in luka or nukak, sm pox, nor in bikan, chinaware plate or dish. I ~~just~~ mention this particularity of the intervocalic k, follow a posterior vowel, ~~and~~ ^{but} as I am not sure whether it is a matter of fashion or of dialect, I shall ignore it in writing as do other users of ^{the} Tetun language.

H is always well sounded, although it has a tendenc to disappear when intervocal in rapid speech, as in i(h)a at, and in o(h)in, this, just past (in space and time).

In a couple of cases its position in the word has local variations:

Wehali	h.o'o,	to kill	<u>ha'i</u> ,	fire
Nth Coast	oho	" "	<u>ahi</u>	"
Suai	h.o'o	" "	<u>ahi</u>	"

Finally h is the sign of infinitive in most verbs and in their 1st and 2nd persons of the plural. Verbs with initial h are conjugated very regularly as follows:

<u>Halo</u> ,	to do, to make, to cause to.	sing
Sing,	1 k.alo	plural 1 h.alo
	2 m.alo	2 h.alo
	3 n.alo	3 r.alo/n.alo

In ~~the~~ connexion ^{with} of consonants, it could be added that there is no trace in Tetun of a final glottal stop of the Malay hamzah kind.¹ On the other hand a velar click is found, but its use is strictly confined to the female sex, and ~~that~~ ^{is used} to express ^{anything} from simple disagreement to a denial or refusal which admits no discussion.

As for vowels, a, u and i have much the same value as they have in Indonesian, as well as o and e. But there is another o, or better ɔ, which is low and back sound as in toko, which means gecko or in teko, to cough, and is consequently very onomatopoeic. The sound ɔ is scarcely met.

E, besides ~~of~~ its normal é value of the French épou as in Tetun feto, woman, also has that of the French è mère as in Tetun fèn, wife. As the second e is less frequent than the first I shall only indicate the second by a diacritic sign (l'accent grave) as shown in the example just quoted.

The length of vowels is variable and it seems generally to correspond to the accentuation as well. Most of the time the stress is on the penult~~ima~~, and as such needs no particular sign. When the long vowel is an o it is better written ou than ō or o:, provided the u is not too much (given) distinct sounding; for example: fou or foun, new, has a diphthong which is very similar to that found in the Malagasy vao, which has the same meaning. In other cases the long vowel will be simply followed by a colon. Very often two vowels follow one another without combination. When an e followed by an o the Dutch used to write a capital E to avoid any confusion with their rendition of the sound u, as in oE, rattan and in boEk,

1

A hamzah however occurs in the language of the neighbour Bunak or Buna' of Lamaknen, Maukatar, etc.

with this language later than did the Portuguese, not knowing that such an m should be sounded n. The case of Tetun is not isolated, the same happened to the name of the island of Ceram, for Seran.

The final m is now so much adopted, that I heard educated people say: 'We ourselves say Tetun, but in Indonesian it is said Tetum.'

As for the quotation of Tetun words and their translation in the text it will be done as a rule in the following way. Tetun words and phrases will be underlined and their literal translations will immediately follow between commas. Any additional word or part of word which do not correspond to a word actually present in the original quotation will be bracketed. For instance: ai kanoik, literally piece (of) think(ing). If the literal meaning is not explicit enough or too cacologous a paraphrase will be given after the literal translation.

In order to bring out clearly the semantic element of composite words, such as kanoik above, a hyphen will be used, as in kan-oik, but as the radical is not properly o but oi, face, which may also take the form oin, facing, front of, a point will be used to separate the core of the radical from its inflexional suffix, thus oi.k. Similarly a point will be used to separate the variable from the invariable elements in the derivational prefix kan-, thus k.an. This results in cumbersome writing but the advantage is that it shows immediately the basic meaning of the word k.an-oi.k which appears at once to be derived from h.an- to think, itself an elaboration from oi, face. Incidently hanoin only represents half of the meaning of to think, second half is sometimes expressed and always implied: h.a(n)-neo.n from neo, heart.

PART ONE

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

CHAPTER ONE

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION

Section I. The South Plain of Belu

The people known in the literature as 'Belu or 'Belunese' occupy in the narrow middle of the island of Timor a strip of territory of some 20 to 60 kilometres wide from the international border with Portugal to an administrative boundary ⁱⁿ ~~to~~ the west.

Timor is itself the largest in the outer, southern row of the islands which together with the inner northern row compose the Lesser Sunda Islands, 'Nusa Tenggara', the South East Islands.

Whereas the inner row, geologically has a simple, recent, volcanic structure, the outer row has an extremely varied structure which shows a great complexity and no trace of vulcanism - at least ^{not} _h in the quaternary. Timor is made up of sedimentary rocks of Permian to Triassic age. From these times on, coral reefs and 'crinoidal and frusulina limestones' (Brouwer 1925:54) were formed. In the pre-Miocene, alpine folding and thrusting movements took place, then in late Tertiary and in Quaternary times more movements resulted in a general upheaval of alpine ridges, covered with coral fringes, up to more than 800 metres in places.¹

1

Brouwer, even after the Lesser Sunda Expedition of 1937, is never definite about the relative ages and the order of emergence of the various mountain complexes of Timor. It may be that it was not his interest, even though it is very much that of the Timorese.

While

~~If~~ it is important for geologists to keep aware of the fact that the ranges of the south coast are simpler in their structure than the chaotic alpine overthrust sheets of the north, it is more important for a student of the present users of the soil to make clear another distinction, that between the mountain and the plain. The mountains on such a rugged island, cover most of the country. Only a few alluvial plains are extant. In middle Timor the southern coastal plain occupies less than 1/6th of the whole regency territory but is inhabited by about 40 per cent of the Belu people. The contrast between these two rough divisions is striking. Apart from the immediately perceivable landscape differences, it is also clearly apparent that the whole of the mountainous region surrounding the southern coastal plain to the west and to the north has very impoverished soils. It has become gradually deforested during the past four or five centuries by an increasing population who continued practising swidden agriculture even after the cycle of cultivation became so short as to prevent adequate regeneration of the vegetation. In present times, swidden cultivation has practically come to an end for the simple reason that the only forest left is either on very steep slopes and in narrow valleys or in a few hundred hectares of forestry protected reserves. The resulting situation is that the poor soil, which is left exposed and loose by the absence of permanent vegetation, is washed away by the violent rains of the short west monsoon. Gardens are left with more patches of sharp coral outcrops than of earth. The rivers have wide, meandering beds loaded with sand, conglomerates of clay and pebbles, and loam. The rivers undermine the banks at the height of the rainy season and become

immediately dry in the dry months of the year from March to the end of November. At this time they hardly provide enough pools in their curves for the long baths of the water-buffaloes, whereas in flood time the rivers carry away dozens of drowned animals. But, more importantly, the floods carry as well, fine earth laden with vegetable materials which, over the centuries, have completed the filling up of the estuaries of the rivers Benenai and Tafara. The rivers have built in their lower courses large, low-level, very flat, fertile plains. The Tafara alluvial plain, the district of Suai, is in Portuguese territory and is contiguous to the border. The Benenai River, the longest in the whole of Timor, drains the south-east slopes of an important group of mountains, the Mutis-Molo complex, in the centre of Indonesian Timor. It is responsible for the formation of a ten to fifteen kilometre wide and forty kilometre long plain in which are found, from north-east to south-west between the rocky foothills and the salty swamps of the coast, the districts or 'kingdoms' of Lakekun, Wehali, Haitimuk and Wewiku. Wehali, in the middle, is enclosed between the actual course and estuary of the river and its ancient estuary called Maubesi-Weto. This sound has many intricate~~d~~ arms. They are of difficult access as most of the area is a mangrove swamp where the raised roots allow one to walk above the deep fetid mud but are equipped with very efficient caltrops of oysters and mussels. Maubesi is about the only place where the natives dare to go fishing in sea water. The coast is too dangerous because of both the high breakers and the sea genii. Even in Maubesi only a few young men who have been at school or who are more or less associated with the local Chinese traders venture in dug-outs on

these quiet waters. All fishing is done in shallow waters from the banks of rivers and the edges of estuaries.

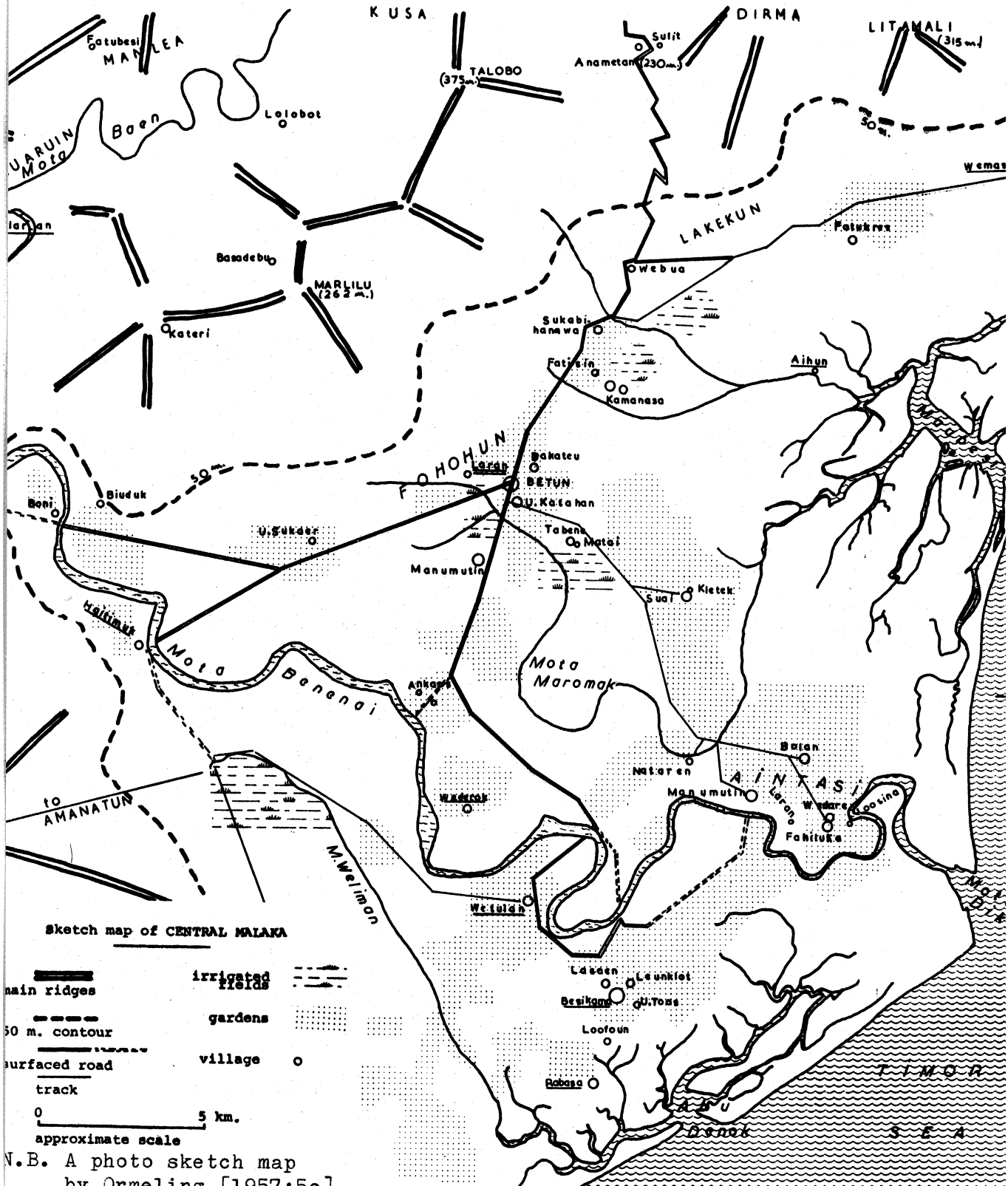
Because of its sweeping movement from Maubesi to its present course and mouth of Mota Dikin, literally river end, the river is called Mota Benenai or, less commonly, Mota Benain. It derives from the word benar,¹ literally to sweep, according to a reliable informant. These changes of bed are still going on. One village, Loosina, situated on the true left bank of the west bend of the last meander before the river reaches the sea has had to move a number of times in its history. When the river came so close that it had already washed away down one half of the village and was about to sweep away the sacred Ficus around which the village is built, the people used to take a shoot of the Ficus, plant it some five hundred metres further inland and build a new village around it. This process was stopped four or five years ago when a Dutch engineer showed the people how to cut a new bed straight to the sea. Further upstream, similar but uncontrolled attempts have caused more damage than good to the coconut groves and gardens (~~and~~ during the May 1963 floods in particular) when the river spread along several possible channels altogether different from that intended by the voluntary work-force and from that which the Nai Dato Makdean, literally Lord headman speaker, a noble chief whose village is riverain, had shown Mota Benenai by an appropriate ritual.

1

An etymology which seems obvious: Bei-Nai, literally grandfather-lord, i.e. crocodile, is generally rejected by learned natives.

The floods are quite an important feature of the seasonal cycle of the plain. Firstly, without overflowing for more than about two weeks in the year, the current and the depth of the river are often enough to prevent any vehicular communication for eight months out of twelve. The result is that Wewiku and Haitimuk, although closely linked culturally, historically and - one could say - constitutionally, to Wehali, have developed an individuality which is not without interest in reference to Wehali. Secondly, as they have done in the past, floods bring layer after layer of loam to the plain, constantly raising its level. This geological process is perceptible in a lifetime. In 1939, a large area received an average of up to at least one metre of material. In some villages downstream, several houses which were built on particularly high stilts, ~~since~~^{so high} it is said that horses could be penned underneath the house, outlasted the flood but their floors are now at ground level. Floods have an immediately catastrophic effect, as I witnessed in May 1963, for they cover all vegetation with a ten centimetre thick layer of loam and sand, killing the crop and the grass, ~~but~~ in the long run the sand disappears by gravity, leaving the rich loam on top. Areas covered with such loam, form a fair proportion of the whole surface in Wehali and Wewiku, and ~~owe to it~~^{depend} a second crop of maize, and even a third one at the height of the dry season, ~~and~~ mostly on low lying land in the bends of the rivers. The sea off the south coast of Timor is exceedingly rough. There seems to be great depths quite close to the coast as, at this point, the edge of the Sahul continental shelf is only half-way between the North coast of Australia and the outer axis of geanticlines composed of the islands of Sumba, Savu, Rote, Timor, Leti, Sermata, etc. This certainly accounts

for a part of the inhospitable aspect of the sea but there are other factors which become obvious when one compares both coasts of Timor. The sea north of Timor is ~~comparatively~~ too shallow to maintain a ground swell of importance. ~~and~~ whereas the winds from Australia to Timor's south coast are completely unimpeded, the north coast is well protected by the northern arc of islands: Sumbawa, Flores, Alor and the minor islands. On this coast navigation only offers difficulties in January and February, ~~but~~ ^{and} the conditions can never really be termed dangerous. On the contrary Timor's south coast is quite hazardous to navigation. Until the 1920s, however, some traffic was still existant on the south coast. It mostly involved Chinese junks carrying the freight of Kupang traders, rather than the Bugis. They directly imported into Kupang live cattle, hides and horns, mongo bean, copra and of course, the traditional products of South Belu: lili no ai, lit. wax and (sandal)wood. This trade declined and eventually came to an end partly because strict regulations stopped the depletion of the country's wealth of sandal wood (Ormeling 1957:41-2), ~~but certainly also when~~ ^{and partly because} around 1925, the road to Atambua was completed and became passable to vehicles. Sea trade was later revived when the K.P.M., the Royal Packet Company, agreed to call at Mota Dikin after representations ~~were~~ ^{had been} made by the colonial administration that, if a means of transportation were made available, cash crop cultivation would develop. World War II put an end to this enterprise after a mere 3 or 4 years. The Dutch cargo ships, just as the junks of earlier times, were ~~subject~~ ^{subject} ~~submitted~~ to monsoon regulations which make the Timor sea navigable only from the end of December to mid-February, i.e. some 6 to 8 months after the harvest of mongo beans, ~~and~~ ^{his} Moreover ~~at a~~ time which unfortunately is characterized



Sketch map of CENTRAL MALAKA

- | | | | |
|--|---------------|--|------------------|
| | main ridges | | irrigated fields |
| | 30 m. contour | | gardens |
| | surfaced road | | village |
| | track | | |
- 0 5 km.
approximate scale

N.B. A photo sketch map by Ormeling [1957:50] has been used in drawing parts of this map.

by food shortage in the south plain. All the rest of the year the coast from Suai to the mouth of Tamutu River is heavily beaten by high breakers, the roar of which can be heard far inland when the wind falls.

Section II. Climatic Conditions

The contrast between the south plain and the surrounding hill country which has already been pointed out is not limited to the nature of the soil and its relief. The distance from the equator - Wehali is half way between the 9th and the 10th parallels of Latitude south - and its proximity to the Australian continent, some 300 miles from coast to coast, give Timor a climate which ~~has~~^{does} not ~~have~~^{have} the monotony of equatorial regions. The monsoon regime is of course quite noticeable. The west monsoon brings the first rains in late November. The peak of rainfall reaches the north coast in January and there is a lag of about one month before it reaches the south coast, as seen in ^{the} diagram on page 9.¹ The total amount of rain here is also much less at that time but this ~~does~~^{does} not ~~diverge from~~^{conflict with} what has been said of the floods, since their waters originate from the northern half of the island.

These heavy rains, udan tinan, literally rain year, are the ~~time~~^{land} mark of the year, the regularly returning

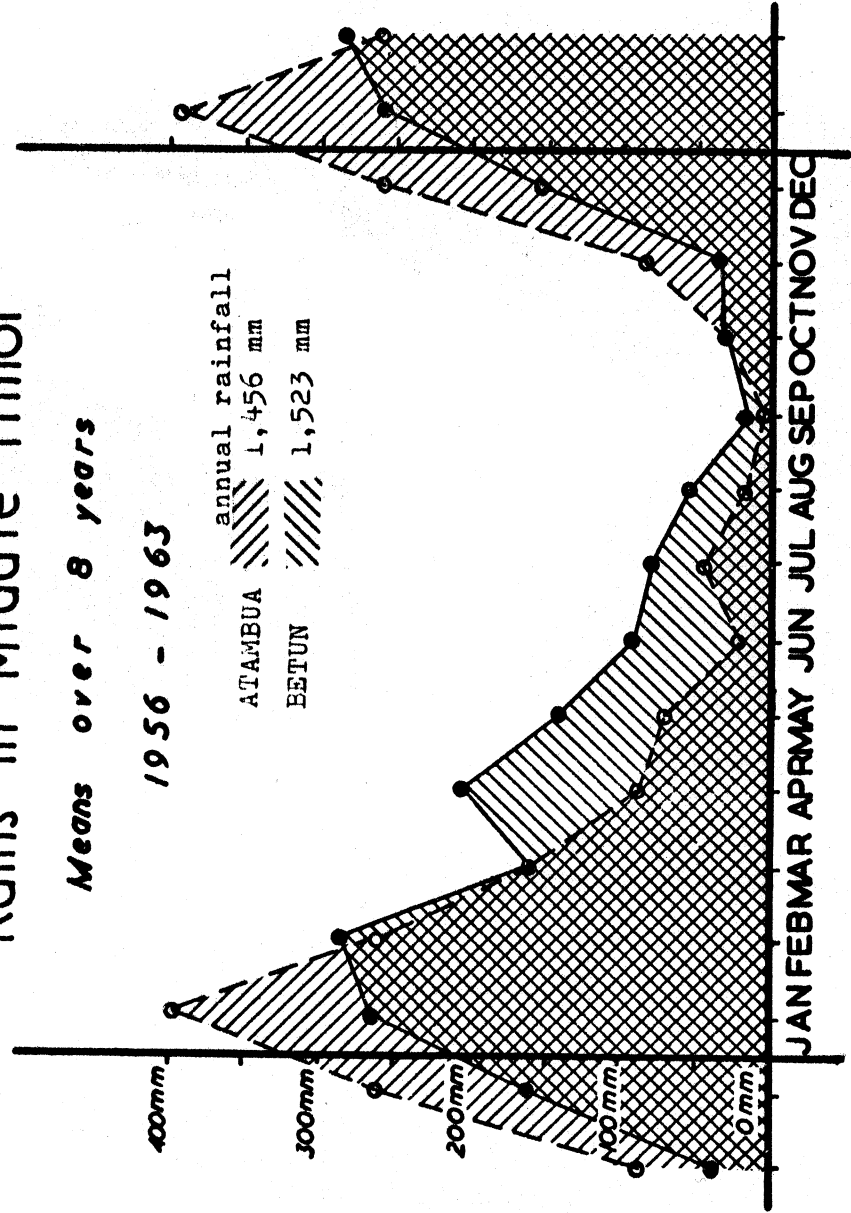
1

This diagram is made from the daily records of rainfall taken by the district agricultural office first~~ly~~ established at Laran and since 1960 or 61 at Betun. These two places are less than 1 km. apart.

Rains in Middle Timor

Means over 8 years

1956 - 1963



feature which serves for the computing of years.¹

When the amount of rainfall steadily decreases to almost nil in June in the North, Wehali and the south plain, generally speaking, receive an important amount of rains from the south-east winds. A few days to a couple of weeks after the turn of the wind in April, ~~there~~ (begins) a period of rains apparently caused by the encounter of the new cold winds from the Australian continent and the masses of warm air left over the islands from the north-east monsoon. This causes a continuous precipitation for a couple of weeks on Timor's southern seashores. Middle Timor's southern coast mostly profits from it and only for a distance of some 5 to 10 km. inland; ~~and~~ in other words, this rain is pushed by the weak wind of the commencing dry season only where the relief does not offer resistance, i.e. over the plains like Wehali and Wewiku, ~~that~~ of the otherwise sterile estuary of Noil Mina, and the plain of Suai in Portuguese territory, which is equivalent to Wehali ~~as to~~ fertility.

The fact that this diminutive rainy season results from an encounter seems to have been understood by the population, who call the first three days of sheet raining soruk bot, literally encounter great, and the following seven days of continuous drizzle soru(k) kiik, literally encounter small. The term udan lor is also used in contrast to udan tinan to describe this rain which comes from the far horizons (lor) of the sea.

1

'Year' is not quite the proper translation for tinan, but rather 'main wet season' since people would count two years from January 1963 to July 1964 for instance, instead of one and a half years.

It is ~~almost needless~~ ^{scarcely necessary} to say how important a second wet spell can be on a semi-arid island. It allows a second crop of maize to be sown immediately after the tinan harvest, as well as, somewhat later, at a time determined in part by the position of the Pleiades, for a very important crop of mongo beans. Its results, however, are rather aleatory. Should the second rain, udan lor, fail to come or be either too early or too late, or else too abundant, the crop of mongo beans is insignificant. Together with tobacco, it is the main source of cash for the people. The case of the third crop of maize is different since the corn is sown only on the low banks of the river and close-by gardens; the only plots of ground which keep some moistness in the middle of the drought.

Although the rains of April really stop at the first foothills which border the plain - as can be clearly seen from any high point of the pass which leads to Wehali from the North - the northern part of Belu receives a very small amount of rain which sets in again in July to slightly quench the drought. This time of the year is normally used by the mountain people to plant cuttings of cassava. It seems only to have occurred recently to this part of the population that this small rainfall is also just what is necessary to obtain a small crop of mongo beans. Ormeling (1957:108) mentions that the development of the cultivation of this leguminous crop in the adjoining southern regions of the Amanatun and Amanuban kingdoms in South Middle Timor regency/ is recent, although they have received ~~similarly~~ at least a certain amount of udan lor, ~~the~~ April rains, for as long a time as Wehali and Wewiku have.

Together with the alternations/ of rain and drought and ~~that~~ of the winds, there is a very perceptible alternatio.

of heat and relative cold. I have unfortunately no measurement data on this, as I have on rainfall, since the agricultural service had no thermometer and mine had been broken during travel. The hottest days and nights occur around October and November just before the first rains. It is then that it is felt that wind brings more heat than freshness. Even natives avoid walking in the scorching dust from 11 a.m. to 2 or 3 p.m. during this period. But when they say: 'rai manas', earth warm, they do not refer to the experience afforded by the direct contact of the skin of their soles with the overheated ground but rather to a 'world of heat' in which they are included. Comparable examples of this use of the word and concept of rai, earth, abound. One hears commonly: rai udan when it rains, rai nalaha during food shortage, literally: earth hungry. Much would be lost by simply - though correctly - translating the phrase by 'it is raining' in the first example, and in the second, ~~but~~ in French, by a not impossible: 'il fait faim'.

In June and July, although the temperature never decreases enough to allow one to wear more than one layer of cotton cloth on one's back during the day, it becomes very chilly at night. It is very common during the slightly longer nights of the winter to see men and boys who cannot find sleep on their windy verandahs, gathering outside the neighbouring houses around a fire of coconut shells, coconut leaf stalks, and ^{Pieces} ~~elements~~ of the village fence to tell tall tales, look at the stars - the height of the Pleiades just before dawn begins to have an agricultural importance at that time or simply to chew betel leaf and areca nut. Women, who enjoy full rights of occupancy of the house, resist longer the cold and they can also revive the fire at any time. ~~It~~ However, very often ~~happens that~~ they go out as well and sit around another fire in small groups where they teach the younger

generation how to spin a thin and regular yarn, or, if they are out of earshot of men, they may indulge, while spinning, in telling a few scabrous tales. These stories and the moralising ones are called ai kanoik hiri ha'i klo:n, literally piece (of) think(ing) (while) spin(ning) (around the) fire place.

The cold wind of winter is brought to Wehali, according to the ancients, by the flutter of the broken wing of a heavenly cock. Manuk, the cock, is represented in the sky by three stars. Sirius in the middle is the body of the cock, Procyon is the tip of its wounded wing and Canopus that of its sound one. The apparent distance from Sirius to Procyon is shorter than that from Sirius to Canopus and these three are the most conspicuous stars above the brightening horizon. Their return in the pre-dawn sky coincides with the chilly south-easterly wind. The cold season is otherwise characterised by ~~its~~ late commencement of work, since men and boys have a tendency to recover their lost sleep in the garden huts where they enjoy the comfort of the rising sun.

Section III. Communications

As Father Mathijsen, s.j., established at Lahurus in the northern mountains, experienced himself as late as 1904, Wehali and its few surrounding vassal states/ were a closed country which was highly reluctant to admit visitors and very anxious to see them on their way back ~~to~~ whence they came.

This isolationism is very largely geographically, but also historically/ and culturally, conditioned. The south plain of Belu Regency/ is bordered by a sea which is not

favorable to contacts with the outer world. The coast was rarely visited by travellers and colonists, unlike the coast of the strait of Ombai which was visited by traders at all times and intermittently settled by Portuguese, Dutch and Asian adventurers for centuries (cf. Boxer 1948: passim). Wehali was off the maritime routes and left out of the trunk road which later linked the ports which had developed on the north coast. Military posts, factories, missions and administrative offices established themselves at or close to existing native settlements. These places, originally of varying importance, gained a new kind of prestige due to contacts with the Westerners and their train.

Communication by land was not per se of any great difficulty. Distances are not great ^{and} water can always be easily found by travellers. But the rugged nature of the mountainous part of the island made it a game for the people to discourage foreign infiltration into the plains of Wehali. In 1904, the Reverend Father Mathijsen had reached Wehali in two days from Lahurus only because he was a member of a party composed of the 'Controleur', the 'Posthouder', a European sergeant and his thirty armed militia men ('Politiedienaren'). Half-way a guide defected pretending he had forgotten where Wehali was. Memory came back to him when he was tied up and held on leash by the sergeant. (Mathijsen 1904:29-30). Even now two points on the road to the south are still unsafe, particularly after dark. Only the truck drivers who are licensed to carry fire-arms dare to pass these points at night. Stones and sticks are frequently hurled at passing vehicles and lone riders. Before the war, ^{only} missionaries ~~alone~~ with their conspicuous soutanes and beards, dared to ride unaccompanied by these points. The closest of them is merely 10 km. sou

of Atambua, the administrative capital of Belu Subdivisor or Regency and diocesan centre of Indonesian Timor. These Dawan-speaking people were displaced by Wehali rulers ~~in~~ ~~an~~ undatable past from the highlands of Tafuli, north of Wewiku, to their present place of Halikelen, in order to control the main way of access to Wehali. Mandeu people were assigned to the same duty and still conform to it. The traditional village of Halikelen on a hill top which commands the road/ has ~~been~~ only recently - mid 1963 - ~~be~~ dismantled and ^{the inhabitants} forced to resettle in a more controllable double string of huts on either side of the trunk road. A post of mobile police was also placed on the roadside at this point. These measures were a moderate success.

^{of} The present road to Wehali, which represents a mean ~~between~~ several pre-existing horse-tracks, steadily climbs in its southern half to the top of a mountain ridge of from 200 to 400 m. high which constitute the last natural defence of the plain. A pass which opens on to the wide plain and sea/ is guarded by the double village of Sulit-Anametan. Its inhabitants do not any longer carry out their duty as eagerly as ^{do} those of Halikelen and Mandeu. It is possible to enter the plain by countless other horse-tracks or footpaths but most ^{are} ~~do~~ not ~~present~~ much ^{interest} as axes of penetration, either because they link places of no ^{consequence} ~~importance~~ or because they are notably less practicable.

If one overlooks the obstacle of Mota Benenai - the dry months are also those which follow harvesting, when a road is most needed - ^{there is} a very worth-while road ~~is that~~ which the Japanese opened during their occupation of Timor. It had been completed after two years of effort at high cost of lives to the local population as a result of hard treatment and malnutrition. A wooden bridge was made on Benenai River between Biuduk and Boni. It did not withsta

the first flood which reached it. But apart from that difficult point, the road was quite good and what is left of it still enables daring teams in four-wheel drive light vehicles to link by a short cut Besikama, the main centre of Wewiku, to Niki-Niki via Putain in the land of Amanatun. The aim was for the Japanese to ^{provide a rapid ~~between~~ ~~from~~} link rapidly Kupang through Wehali to Suai and the rest of the South coast which faces Australia. The road reduced quite considerably the distance by avoiding the detour via Kefamenanu and Halilulik. It has since been abandoned, and this quite deliberately. Apart from the bitter ^{memories} ~~remembrance~~ attached to it, the people of Amanatun did not like the ~~idea of such a~~ road because it would bring disturbances, such as more Chinese shops and Rotinese and Savunese settlers in the villages along the road, more civil servants and police as well. All ^{these} ^{are} elements ~~much~~ feared by a very shy population and a nobility which is very anxious to retain its hold on the ~~former~~ people.

A second reason is that Dawan-speaking Amanatun, though owing formal allegiance to Wehali, has always had rather bloody border disputes with the Tetun-speaking districts of Wewiku and Rabasa. The prospect of having ^{their enemies} ~~them~~ in constant transit through their territory was unthinkable. ~~As~~ Moreover, from the south Belu side the necessity for such a road ~~did not~~ make itself immediately felt to the local inhabitants and authorities - due to the slow post-war restarting of business ^{and} - ~~it~~ was more easily left to fall into neglect, an irreparable mistake in such a climate.

From the standpoint of Atambua, which is a town of some importance and ^{which} controls administratively and commercially the south of Belu, it is quite vital that transit to and from the south be not diverted on a shorter land route direct to Kupang.

On the 1st of May 1964 a meeting was held in Betun, the administrative centre of Wehali, by the Catholic Party representatives in conjunction with the local branch of the 'Front Nasional', to promote the idea of dividing Belu regency into two in order to establish in the southern plain an entirely new regency. The project put forward - and it is the last fact which I can record in this connection since the meeting took place on the day that I left the field - entailed the reconstruction of the Japanese road to Kupang.

There are many contradicting trends in this and the reactionary ^{forces} have prevailed so far. Sometimes the initiative comes from Wehali and is barred from Atambua, and ^{at} other times, as the following example shows, Atambua, or rather the central government, makes a move which is met with inertia and even sheer backwardness on the part of the south plain people and their leaders. The Dutch managed to establish a telephone line to South Belu (Besikama), from the road junction of Halilulik, only a few years after they first made their authority felt there, i.e. 1910. This telephone was kept in working order all through the war until 1953 when the local authorities of the South plain discontinued their share of maintenance and let it break down. The line was then progressively taken to bits, in various lengths, for domestic and other uses by the population. It had to be entirely reconstructed by a central government agency in late 1963. Questioned on the reasons why such an important link could have been allowed to vanish, so to say, the answer was commonly given by officials in Betun that a direct telephone link with the Regency capital was too much ~~of~~ a source of trouble, ^{a fact of which} ~~as~~ the newly reconstructed line soon started giving ~~an~~ ample evidence.

Other examples could be cited, particularly concerning the road to Atambua which has almost submitted to the same fate as the old telephone; but this will have been sufficient to show that if natural conditions are much to blame for the isolation in which Wehali and the South plain as a whole has been kept until today, the character of its people and even - or perhaps principally of those holding locally prominent positions bear a great deal of responsibility.

How has a population of Wehali and its immediate neighbours, which had an historically paramount position in the hierarchy of the districts of Timor, come to ~~keep~~^{be} so isolated? How this isolation ~~came to create~~^{has created} the important lag in modern development ~~which is~~ (seen now), is probably more easily answered when one has considered ~~to~~ⁱⁿ what relative advantageous positions the people of the north coast and mountains were ~~being~~ placed with the multiplication and intensification of contacts ~~involved~~ with the malae, literally the foreigners. But ~~it~~^{this} is not all. The character of the rulers and of the people of the south is also very casual, indifferent, ^{and} unambitious in contrast to that of their northern neighbours, ~~and~~ ^{Seems to} ~~would~~ be the consequence of an island-wide political system which appears to have been deliberately adopted and devised to build a Great Timor Empire. The ideological basis ~~being~~^{was the dogma} that the primary authority is that of the mother over the child, ~~and it is~~ On this basis ~~that~~ the political and religious centre of the Empire, Wehali, has retained for itself the passive, negative and even almost occult role, that of the mother.

CHAPTER TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES

Section I. The Belu Regency

Nusa Tenggara Timur, the eastern lesser Sunda islands are composed of roughly the former Timor en onderhoorighed Timor and dependencies, and ^{ose} ~~is~~ now known as a Daerah tingk zone (of) level one. A Governor resides in its capital Kupang, the port of the south-west tip of the island. The whole of the Daerah is further divided into Daerah Tingkat literally zone(s of) level two, which correspond to the Javanese kabupaten, regency, and at the same time to the former Dutch onderafdeeling, subdivision. At the head of each Dati II, as Daerah Tingkat II, is preferably abbreviated in common use, is a Bupati kepala daerah tingkat II, literally Regent chief (of) zone (of) level II. There are four Dati on the western half of Timor which belongs to the Republic of Indonesia. These are from west to east Kupang, Timor Tengah Selatan (Timor middle south) Timor Tengah Utara, (Timor middle north) and Belu, right across the middle, at the narrowest of the island, and contiguous to the Portuguese Indonesian border.

The development of these administrative structures and the succession of the different intermediate stages at the Dati I level have had little bearing on the development of Wehali and neighbouring districts. But the numerous divisions, redivisions and redistributions of Belu eastern and western borders and of its constituent districts are worth looking at in some detail.

It was as late as 1862 that the Dutch sent a permanent administrative officer, a 'Gezaghebber', to Belu. Gezaghebber Rogge established himself at Atapupu where the Jesuits had simultaneously opened a mission post headed by Father Kraayvanger. Until then the precise status of that region of Timor was not quite clear. The Dutch had merely sent patrols in these parts mainly to collect promises from native chiefs not to let the Portuguese have the same advantages as themselves regarding sandal wood and similar trades. Sometimes contacts were only kept with these populations through the agency of Chinese traders in sandal wood and wax during their collecting expedition from their establishments of Kupang to the interior. [D.B. 1852: 204]

From the 1860s onward, the Dutch administration took a firm hold on Belu. The native chiefs had been left entirely autonomous and they assumed that the Dutch this time had no more ^{aims} ~~views~~ on political and judicial administration of the interior than the Portuguese had had during their successive attempts at settling the area. But in 1865, when Rogge proposed to them closer terms of co-operation, various armed movements arose. Exactly what were the reasons for these small-scale risings is now, in the absence of records, difficult to ascertain. They are now said to have been movements of resistance against foreign oppression, ~~which~~ ^{This} is quite true in broad terms, but ^{they} most probably originated from another aspect of the introduction - however mild in those days - of foreign administration. The Dutch, as in most of their possessions of Eastern Indonesia, proposed to the native lords contracts of a kind known as 'Korte Verklaring'. They were 'short declarations' of allegiance to the government of the Netherlands in the Indies, as opposed to the 'long

declarations', taken by rulers of the Principalities of Java for instance, which enumerated the respective attributions of power of the government on the one hand and of the self-governing land on the other. In the short declarations, or at least in the tentative drafts of them, allegiance was required from the ruler concerned together with the surrendering of all powers of treating with foreign and native nations; this meant the Portuguese and the 'Zwarte Portugezen'¹ ruled territories of Oe Kusi and Noi Mutif. ~~The~~ ^{ruled by} Government did not actually interfere in the internal affairs of the districts except for matters of peace keeping and criminal law, but all this made it necessary for the native lords to define, or get defined, their own powers and to decide on a hierarchy among themselves. The political system in Belu was far from being well understood at the time² and it has now undergone changes which lessen our chances of obtaining a clear picture of it. But ~~it is obviously~~ in these attempts at determining the relative positions of precedence among the various lords of the region immediately neighbouring the seat of Dutch administration, and eventually who was to be recognized as 'Radja Belu' - the overlords of Belu - ~~that~~ ^{obviously} one may find the cause of the various minor uprisings which took place between 1884 and 1916. Little, however, is remembered ^{by} ~~among~~ the ^{people} population of the ins and outs of the sometimes bloody incidents apart from the names of the leaders on the

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'Zwarte Portugezen', Dutch for Black Portuguese, refers to the half-cast descendants of the early Portuguese settlers. The term is in Dutch rather depreciative and is unknown to the Portuguese who make no discrimination on the basis of skin colour.

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Cf. Bere-Tallo 1957, b: passim.

street plates of Atambua: Abekun Natun, Moruk Pah Sunan, Asa Natun, Nai Kau Besin, etc. and that of a Dutch Lieutenant, H. Glabeeck van der Does on his grave at Atapupu.

The districts which constituted Belu¹ in the second half of the last century were those recognizing themselves as depending politically and ritually ~~from~~ ^{on} Wehali and who owed an irregularly paid annual tax and ritual homage to its lord. Formerly this obligation had been extended to all kingdoms and states of Timor including those on the west, grouped under Sonbai, and on the east of the island. But the eastern half had come under the exclusive influence of the Portuguese government and Sonbai was breaking down into a great and a small Sonbai, the great one splitting again into four of its former constituents [Grijzen 1895: 621]. Belu districts were thus more restricted to their present limits, except that it included a few more lands in the west than it does now. These were, from the border with Oe Kusi and eastward on the north coast, the Dawan-speaking districts of Beboki, Harneno and, inland to the south of this, Insana and Nenometan. The first two, Beboki and Harneno, together with, still following the coast, Lidak, Djenilu, Silawan and ~~then~~ inland the smaller districts of Umaklaran, Manuleten, Bauho and Lasiolat constituted in the eyes of Dutch travellers and early colonial officers a larger unit named Fialaran (from fehan, plain, and laran, in) [cf. Francis 1838: 359 where it is misspelt Tialarang]. A semi-anonymous reporter, D.B., wrote in 1852: 'Wewiku-Wehali is also suzerain of the regency of Fialaran which is situated on the north

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Cf. sketch map on border disputes.

coast of the island and which is under Netherlands authority. Wehali itself however abstains from any relations with the Government in defiance of promises it made and although it has always recognized Dutch authority and rights on Fialaran' [D.B. 1852: 214]. While leaving D.B. to regret this state of affairs caused by the neglect of previous governors of Timor who did nothing to enforce the treaties signed by all the Belu princes or their envoys in 1752, 1757 and 1773... [ibid.], the successive Dutch Commissioners, who had very little means of action, do not appear to have ~~much~~ visited the south coastal regions ^{which} in the course of the first 35 years of their administration,¹ nor did the haughty rulers of Wehali ever initiate a move to have their actual suzerainty taken into proper consideration. Consequently the Government concerned itself mostly with Fialaran and the Buna' states at the end of the kind of 'peninsula', formed by the border, ~~these~~ ^{those} states ~~which~~ were at the same time ~~the~~ most involved in the border disputes between the Dutch and the Portuguese.

In trying to understand now what the original indigenous system was we can put ourselves in the position of the Dutch colonial officers of the turn of the century. A glance at appendices A and B, where the development of border and administrative questions is shown in chronological order, will give evidence of the intricacies with which the colonial officers had to cope.

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Atapupu garrison, a detachment from the Kupang company, had increased from 56 in 1858 to 61 in 1865 [Zondervan 1888: 73] of the Company of Kupang. In 1882 two officers and 50 men were returned to Timor to be divided among the garrisons of Kupang, Atapupu and Larantuka (Eastern Flores) [ibid.: 114].

Pressed by the problems of their ^{settlement} ~~implantation~~ at and around the harbour of Atapupu, they proceeded to contact the regions at closer range first. This had not been the procedure of a Paravicini, a century and a half earlier, who in 1757 had contracted some sort of alliance with the rulers of 'Waiwiko en Bahele' [Roo 1904: 202], but presumably Wewiku and Wehali were more heard of then and it was felt that political and trade treaties had to be ^{made} ~~passed~~ with a 'keizer' or a 'liurai' rather than with a 'loro' [cf. infra and pp.26-27, for the meaning of these titles].

All present day Timorese from Kupang to Dili still acknowledge the old preeminence of Wehali over all other Timor native states; all also make a reservation, Some would say that they were in fact equal to Wehali but that Wehali has some sort of power which others had not themselves, others would ^{ascribe} ~~recognize~~ absolute supremacy to Wehali in a remote past but none today.

There is still in Wehali the central authority over the once Great Timor Empire. Known to the Dutch as 'keizer', emperor, he is known to the people as Nai bot, literally great lord or else as maromak oan, literally oan child (of) maromak (that) which (is) luminous, i.e. the child of god. He is a divine king who is not required to rule. An adage defines - without sarcasm - his main occupation: maha toba mahemu toba, literally (the one) who eats reclining (and) who drinks reclining, a feminine characteristic as women are provided with food by men. He is sometimes referred to as Nai kukun, literally lord dark, or occult, in contrast to his second, the Liurai who is the Nai roman, literally lord clear, visible. Liurai means above or superior to (liu) the earth (rai). The Liurai as the second is only so in the

sense of second of a pair. Nai bot exerts no material power and has no say in public affairs. He is mainly concerned with agricultural rites, and with the regularity of the alternation of rain and drought. He has practically no other duty. He only has to expect the tribute to come to him, that is to Wehali of which he is the living symbol, from all Timor vassals.

The task of gathering the tribute, or rather of mustering at times the debtor vassals, is that of the Liurai, who can be referred to also as mak la'o lia, literally (the one) who goes (and pronounces) words - a masculine characteristic. He gives orders of his own right and he does not have to ask for instructions from, ~~was~~ ~~and~~ to report to Nai bot. He (alone) acts in matters of Government (ukun rai, literally to rule earth). There are three Liurai, the most important is Liurai Malaka, who reigns as it were over middle Timor, essentially the Tetun-speakers, but also over some other Dawan-speaking states such as Manlea, Insana, etc. and ~~even~~ ^{even} in the past, it is said, ^{over} Oe Kusi, the Portuguese enclave. Due to the presence of the international border east of Belu Regency, it is difficult to ascertain how far the government of Liurai Malaka extended into Portuguese territory. ~~There was~~ ^{It included almost all} the south coast ~~almost in its whole~~, i.e. ^{up to} ~~until~~ and including Viqueque, but excluding Lautem, the tip of the Island. Inland, most districts from Balibo and Bobonaro to Manatuto were under Liurai Malaka's influence. But on the North coast of the Portuguese territory, it ^{included} ~~was the case~~ only ~~for~~ a little zone around Dili, at least for a time.

West of the Tetun-speaking area toward Kupang are the Dawan-speakers. These are grouped under their own

Liurai, Liurai Sonbai,¹ considered as a 'younger brother' of Liurai Malaka. In the eastern part of the island, various linguistic groups - may be up to twenty - are known to Wehali as Rai Lor, literally land horizon, but better as Likusaen (Liquiça in contemporary Portuguese spelling), the enemy brother of Wehali.

The link between these three main regions each under one Liurai was certainly tenuous, and only one Liurai Malaka is remembered to have made a tour of the vassals to collect the tribute to Wehali. But as it was, this link extended also overseas to the closer islands of Roti and Sabu and the eastern Larantuka peninsula of Flores. People of these places agree even today that they are linked to those of South Belu particularly by some sort of blood brotherhood. Trifling incidents and coincidences given as evidence in this connexion abound to enforce the effects of these alleged oaths.

Inside the formerly extended Malaka, there is a distinction between foho and fehan, i.e. the hills and the plain. The plain is the place of residence of Nai bot, particularly Wehali which is immediately surrounded or protected by a number of districts headed by their Nai, lords, where Wehali marriage customs are followed, and these constitute the core of Malaka. This core is further surrounded by other districts, which are still closely under the authority of Liurai Malaka. They do not follow the marriage customs of Wehali, but those of the hills. In these first two areas which comprise both hill and plain districts, four of the Nai who are at their heads,

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According to the present Radja Kupang this name actually originates from a Sulawesi language where it has simply the meaning of King, Radja.

have a special status and their corresponding title is Nai Loro, loro meaning sun or day, day light. They rank higher among the Nai for historical reasons mainly. They also are the immediate protectors or 'gate keepers' of Wehali. Two are on the west, Wewiku and Haitimuk; one on the east, Lakekun; and the fourth, on the north, is Dirma where the marriage customs are those of the hills.

Thirdly, the rest of the states in Belu Regency, or Dati II, have progressively come to consider themselves as independent politically and ritually from Liurai Malaka and loosely associated under the name of Fialaran. The most important Nai in Fialaran is Loro Bauho who assumed (illegally in the eyes of Wehali people) at one stage the title of Astanara (both as and tanara have roughly the same meaning of above, superior). Loro Bauho is the fifth Loro and his traditional role especially in connexion with Wehali is not clear. It seems that he was the Lord of the first occupants of the soil before the foundation of Wehali, the title being given to him by Wehali in order to integrate him and his people into the total system.

So Malaka is a loose term referring to the formerly extended zone of hegemony of the first ranking of the three Liurai who ruled over Timor. Progressively this zone has decreased so as to be restricted to the actual plain states plus a few marginal hill states.

The situation in the traditional political system is further complicated by the fact that a Liurai did not have to act himself. His duties were carried out by the head of the Lawalu noble lineage. On the other hand, as Liurai Malaka had for several reasons practically disappeared at the beginning of the century, the office of Nai bot had to become more and more involved in worldly affairs. But being Nai kukun, the lord of the dark, he had deputed a

noble, matrilineally related to his house, Nai Tahu Taek [cf. Appendix B, p.126], as his acting head of state. This position is still held at present by Tahu Taek's sister's son who is recognized by the Government - at the Regency level - as 'Radja Wehali'. This office is therefore tainted by the Nai bot character: femininity and passivity which, in the eyes of the people, makes it inadequate for ruling the country. The picture is thus considerably blurred and the system, loaded as it is with its burden of traditional symbolism, does not offer many possibilities of adjustment to administrative standards. This is to say that although ideological, the system did work and still does to a certain extent, but mostly for ritual purposes. Where administrative functions are assumed by any one of the noble dignitaries, a certain unformulated dissatisfaction manifests itself from the part of the people as well as from that of the appointee and of the administration. The result of it is seen in the considerable lag of the south plain in social and material development and in the absence there of a valid leader emerged from the local nobility, whereas most other Regencies of west Timor - Amanuban particularly - have most successfully met the challenge of adaptation to modern administration.

Theoretically, however, the state was organized from the top down to the components of the villages on a diarchic pattern. On the one side feminine power, which is mystic and passive, on the other, masculine power which is active and deals with material matters.

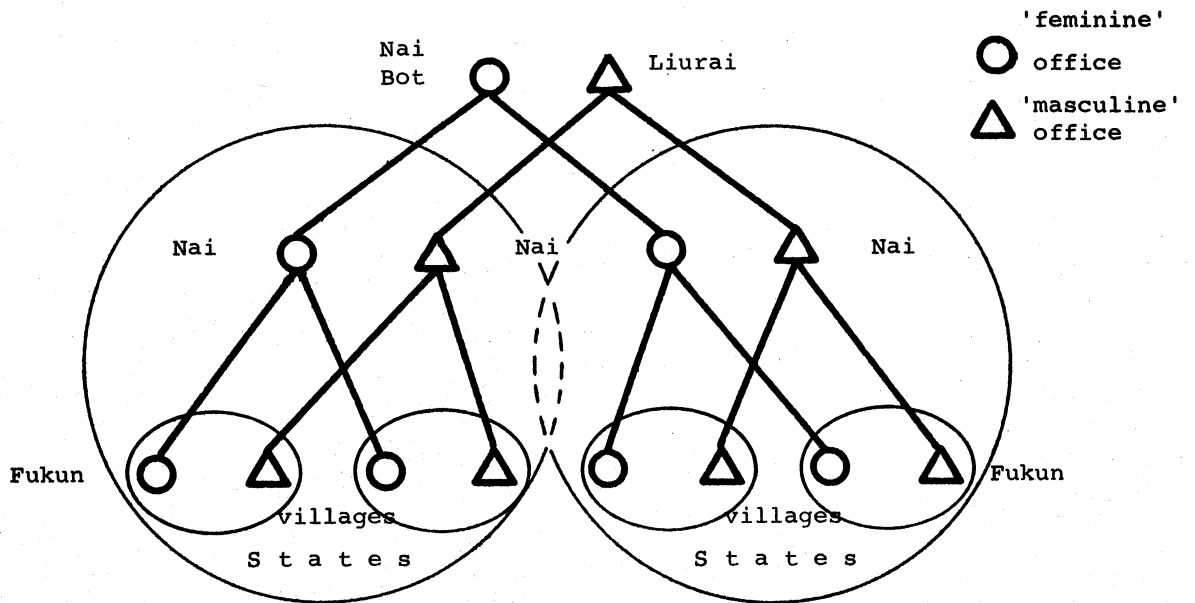
In the neighbouring states of Wehali, such as Wewiku, Rabasa, and Lakekun, one always finds noble houses arranged on this pattern. The matrilineage of the Nai stems from a principal masculine house which is flanked by a second

house of feminine character. The latter justifies the existence and authenticates the power of the former. Now around a Nai's house in his capital village, there are a number of noble ritual officers whose functions are ~~that~~ ^{those} of herald, of diviner, of receptionist and so on. These offices as it were are also duplicated into one feminine and one masculine house which stand one toward the other in the same position as the Nai's houses. It is through these ritual officers that the Nai operates ^a ~~in~~ government.

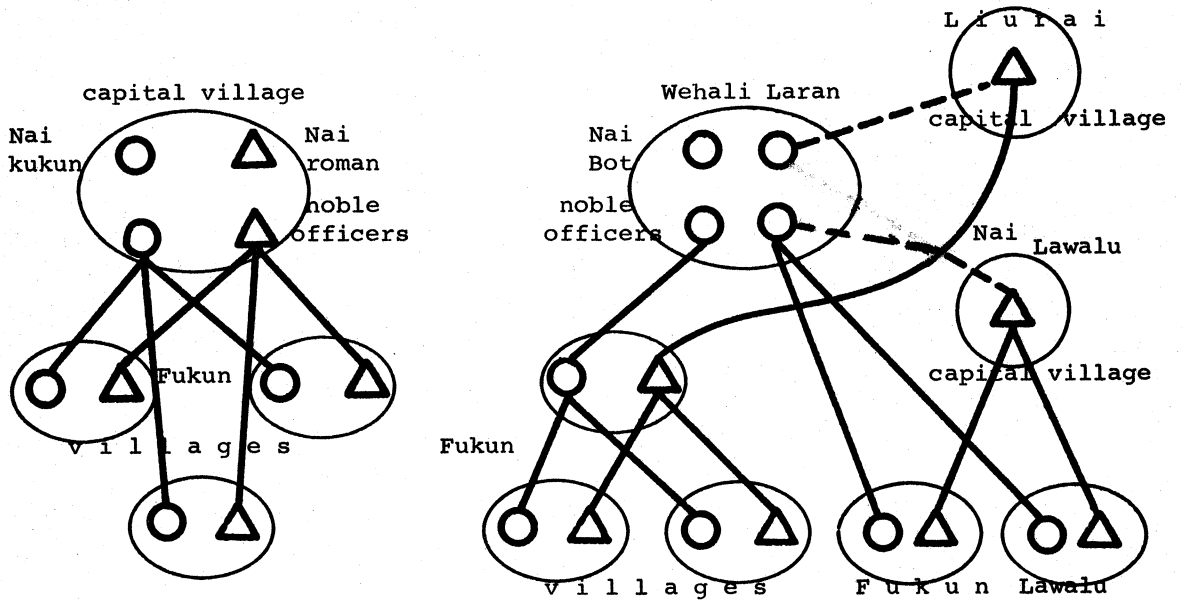
Then in each village - still theoretically - are a couple of houses (one feminine and one masculine) or matrilineages of commoners who constitute the retainers, the people of the corresponding noble officer. These extended matrilineages are known as fukun, a word which is also applied, ^{as a term indicating} ~~in the sense of~~ rank, to ~~the~~ ^{those} actual inhabitants of these houses and who, ~~are~~ ^{are} amongst the matrilineage, ~~those~~ ^{are} qualified for designation as the head of the fukun. Referring to such a head, fukun is again used but as a title. The word fukun has further, in common speech, the meaning of knot, nodule of wood, particularly knots of bamboo and rattan, and ~~that~~ of knuckle, joint.

As for Wehali proper, the situation is somewhat different but not basically so. ~~The main characteristic~~ of Wehali ^{is} ~~being~~ a rai fetu, literally land (of) women, ~~is~~ ^{hence} ~~and~~ ~~that~~ there are no noble matrilineages of masculine character for internal affairs: Liurai and Lawalu lineages, whose sphere of action is essentially outside Wehali, are thus excluded. That Liurai and Lawalu noble lineages have their main settlements in villages other than Laran, Wehali's capital village, points to the same principle; Wehali is female business. In Laran, Liurai and Lawalu are only represented by their stem houses of feminine character.

TRADITIONAL POLITICAL STRUCTURES



I. Theoretical model of diarchic
M A L A K A Government



Relationships between N a i, noble officers, and f u k u n :

II. In Malaka states

III. In Wehali proper

Now for the commoners in Wehali the situation is virtually the same as that obtaining in neighbouring plain states. Fukun are distributed among villages and both their main feminine and masculine houses are represented in each village where they have segmented.

Consequently, if, for purposes of administration, one assigns positive duties to the Nai of Wehali, one has to make them work against the grain of their essential function. This is in broad terms what has happened to them since the introduction of foreign notions on government. [Cf. Appendix B]

Section II. The Nai and the Temukun

It is the Nai and the Temukun which show the greatest continuity in what can be seen of historical development. Nai or lord, is normally translated as Radja and through the latter as king. This is how Pigafetta understood the word, certainly through the intermediary of Malay, when in 1522 he was told of the four great kings of the south coast.

He curiously called the north coast chiefs with whom he had to deal, village chiefs. They were the present day temukun. The name is an old Malay title, tomenggong, and has a much higher value in the classic literature, that of army commander in chief. The term is obviously imported and might have been employed from the necessity, not hitherto felt, for the people to put a buffer between themselves and the foreigners (Chinese and Malay traders, Portuguese, et al.) and for the latter to hold someone responsible for the people's activities.

Succession to the position of temukun does not follow a uniform pattern. Sometimes a temukun is his mother's brothers successor, sometimes his father's. Most of the time he has been designated to the office by the nai who may do so on the recommendation of some sort of council of elders, or else he is simply designated by his predecessor.¹ All this points to the probability, as envisaged, that the office of temukun, as well as the term, is not completely indigenous. His utility is obvious to the administration which began paying him sometime after World War II on the basis of the number of inhabitants in his village. In principle, there is one temukun for each village; in fact there is one temukun for a mean of 400 inhabitants. However, a village complex of the south plain, called Kletek-Suai has 1,500 inhabitants and is divided among three temukun only. On the other hand some villages of small population happen to be grouped together under one temukun.

Not many duties are imposed on the temukun by the Government, apart from that of keeping within easy reach of the ketjamatan.² His clearer function is that of judicial official. He settles minor disputes within clans when the clan elders of fukun cannot settle it themselves, and disputes between the clans which constitute a village. He may impose fines in kind for breaches of custom, but most of the time such cases are not brought to him (but to

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In some independent minded villages, particularly uninfluential young men are put in the office so as to ensure ~~make~~ trouble-free temukun.

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It is not that the nai is by-passed by the temukun but, because of the more traditional nature of his position, the nai is in closer relation with the elders and the ritual functionaries.

a clan elder or to the nai) since he has himself little or no role in ritual affairs. He is employed by the Government to collect taxes, to distribute retiring pensions. He helps co-villagers to lodge complaints with the Police, he is expected to assist in arrests and to keep the authorities informed of what is going on in his village. He shares with the school-teacher and the catechist the role of official interpreter to visitors to the village, but it is he principally who is expected to welcome visitors by providing them with refreshments and entertaining them at his house. Usually this is a uma malae (Tetun), or rumah malaju (Malay) house of foreign design, a square hut which is not on stilts but has its walls resting on the ground, and is furnished with a table and chairs. It is sometimes called uma kantor, office.

About 1960, a general change of temukun took place. In the twin village of Kletek-Suai and in some of the seaside villages at least, temukun were m.a.-koa.n, history and custom experts, those entitled to settle matters, koa lia, to cut words. These makoan were largely illiterate, and ignorant of Malay and Bahasa Indonesia. In spite of their great influence in village affairs, they were replaced by younger men who could fulfil the minimum conditions laid down by the Government: ability to read, write and speak Indonesian. The main duty of temukun, however, is to gather volunteers for the frequent appeals for free work made by the ketjamatan, the Regency, the Police or the Army to maintain the road, repair the kantor polisi, the kantor ketjamatan or build new houses in the

head-town of Betun, etc.¹ The major part of his revenue, in these times of inflation, comes not from his salary but from his own ordinary agricultural work, plus small gifts in kind. Since 1961, the year of the last census, an attempt has been made to keep the population count up to date. The temukun have been instructed to report births and deaths among his fellow villagers, but I have observed that although the district office is sometimes informed of deaths, this is never done for births, and anyway there is neither a registry office, nor a registry officer at ketjaman level, in the southern plain of Belu.

Whatever the burden of his office, the temukun in most villages/ has a deputy. The foreign origin of this secondary charge is also reflected in the titles used: kabu, from the Portuguese cabo, corporal; or wakil, Indonesian for deputy, representative. Moreover it is only a temporary title and job; it generally consists in running to Betun for letters or to the gardens to call someone who is wanted by the temukun, or else in shouting public announcements at night when everybody is at home and not yet asleep.

Directly above the temukun is the nai. The office of nai has not been created by the Administration but has been very early recognized by it. It was naturally with the nai that early foreigners entered into contracts for

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The houses built ~~on~~^{to} the plans of the administration, to make artificial villages as head-towns of districts, do not usually last more than a few years. Eighteen to twenty-four months would be the average lifespan of such square houses which the Government hopes to see replacing the traditional houses on stilts for the sake of hygiene. Some houses of the traditional type are known to have been in existence without even changing the sago leaf roofs for more than 45 years.

the sandal wood trade and later for the 'korte verklaringen' (short declarations).

Although the 1958 law, No. 69 is in fact devised to put an end to the swapradja system,¹ i.e. the autonomous zones with a so-called feudal type of government, and replace it by a democratic administration,² it leaves a great deal of latitude as to how this local administration is carried out. There is indeed good reason for keeping the nai in office for there is an immense lack of local trained administrative personnel. In the eyes of some of the East Indonesian peoples, individuals from other islands are not sufficiently cleared of ethnic and religious particularism to be acceptable as civil servants.³ If they retained their positions, the nai were referred to in official documents as alat perlengkapan pemerintah, literally instrument complement administration, but another term has been found since, namely kordinator.⁴ The

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Cf. Appendix B, p.133 n.1.

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The autonomous rule of swapradja type was also seen as a dangerous remnant of the abolished federalism, and as a threat to the unitary principles laid out by the 1928 Youth Congress and summed up in the national anthem as 'One Archipelago, one Nation, one Language'.

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Around 1956-57 movements of violence (Destar Merah, i.e. red turbans) arose in Kupang among the students, teachers and minor public servants to obtain the removal of all teachers, policemen and public servants who were Javanese and/or Moslem. In Dati II Belu, the number of officials of Roti origin has been drastically reduced since 1958-60. They were very frequently employed up to the higher ranks of the Dutch administration because they were Protestants.

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Another example of the terminological, more than structural, changes is offered by the proposed renaming as Desa - a Javanese word and concept - of the territory of a nai which is so far simply known as nai since there is not in Tetun a derivation of the type found in Malay: radja, king; ke-radja-an, kingdom.

Administration, particularly at the Dati II level is well aware of the indispensability of the nai. It is aware that a de facto ^{abolition} ~~abolishment~~ of the nai could not be effected - it is enough that the ^{abolition} ~~abolishment~~ be ~~granted~~ ^{stated} ~~by~~ ⁱⁿ the text of the law - without bringing about disorder and dissolution. It values so much the nai that ~~it still happens that~~ the creation of new nai is ^{still} felt to be a necessity, overtly - it is true - in order to dismantle larger powerful 'kingdoms', or for other reasons. This was the case in January 1964 with Loro Dirma. The difficult succession to the title of Loro at the death of its former holder was the occasion for the Regent head of zone to break up the large territory of Dirma into five separate nai (Dirma, Teun, Wemeda, Uarau and Numponi), leaving ceremonial precedence and ritual hegemony only to the lord of a Dirma reduced to a couple of villages.

Although the Government intervenes in the accession and the succession of the lords, as can be seen in the case of the 'keizer',¹ they are still essentially traditional leaders chosen from amongst the noble class. As auxiliaries of the Government they are required to have a permanent residence, a uma kantor which should be fairly central in their district. There they administer justice at one level higher than that of the temukun. Principally they settle disputes between villages which are bound to arise, for instance, when crops ripen and pigs and cattle break through fences and cause damage to the gardens, disputes within the villages, which the temukun has been unable to settle or cases in which the latter is himself one of the parties to the action. A nai

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Cf. Appendix B, p.126 seqq.

has very often to settle ~~himself~~ affairs connected with the breaking of engagements, divorce and the fate of children called mata musan, literally eye pupil.¹ Since the loosely delimited exogamic units tend to be fairly large such affairs sometimes involve whole villages and thus exceed a temukun's jurisdiction. It is mostly because of the pressure against divorce which is exerted by the Church that it is positively forbidden to a temukun to pronounce a divorce, even when only 'houses' are involved. Nai themselves are reluctant to do so. Although I have been assured that divorce had been made illegal in Belu, I have not been able to make out by which authority it had been and what were the legal sanctions. When he comes to divorce a couple, a temukun generally succeeds in avoiding too much publicity being given to his verdict, but a nai, whose deeds are more widely publicised, does not go to Church for a few weeks to avoid hearing invectives from the pulpit. However in the plain of Malaka divorce is an extremely rare occurrence.

A nai is always flanked by a deputy and at least a couple of opas, ^{whose} ~~their~~ salaries are paid by the nai ^{himself} ~~on his~~ ~~own~~; both nai and deputy employ one clerk each. The role of wakil, deputy, is far from being well defined; he is sometimes considered as a temukun besar, great temukun, but he has virtually no power, either traditional or administrative. He collects reports, complaints, etc. from the temukun and presents them to the nai. The opas, from Dutch oppasser, guard, attendant, or more accurately, in this case, 'batman', ^{have} ~~are~~ mainly to accompany a nai on trips either mounted or on foot, or simply to keep the nai's provision of betel and areca or to hold the bottle of local

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Cf. chapter on the household. Appendix B, p.133 seqq.

brandy when he entertains guests or celebrates the settlement of a dispute with the parties concerned. It may be tedious and probably will seem an exaggeration to mention this, but an opas has ^{invariably} ~~very regularly~~ one or several deputies himself, who may replace him for up to 100 per cent of his time of service. There is at least one such extreme case of an opas who picks up, in turn, younger male relatives, of his own, and his wife's house, to attend the nai's orders.

Until mid-1962, Liurai Louis S. Teeseran, as 'Radja Malaka', or more officially, Head of Common Custom Area (K.W.K.H.), was the overlord of 15 recognized nai and, through the latter, of 200 temukun and a population of 81,000. He had then a staff of 5 men, one clerk and four opas. They received an irregularly paid salary. This ~~personnel~~ ^{staff}, however, was increased from 1961 for census-taking purposes, ~~as well as~~ ^{and} the 'Kantor' ^{was} furnished. The Radja Malaka's function was mostly judicial, ~~and~~ with reference to cases not settled at nai level. All of these cases ^{were} ~~are~~ ^{being} concerned with customary law; criminal matters were dealt with by the National Police and forwarded to the Public Prosecutor's branch office of Atambua. Radja Malaka was a member of the provisional government committee with his two peers Radja Tasi Teto and Radja Lamaknen, plus four elected members, sitting at intervals at Atambua. At Betun ^{there} were branches of only a few services, ~~which~~ ^{ing} depended for organization, salaries, etc., on their respective ministries of the central government: health, veterinarian, agriculture, forestry. Under the present system of swatantra (self-administration) this distinction between Central Government and Regency employees does not exist any more; all are Central Government employees.

Section III. The Tjamat

When in August-September 1962, the organization of self-administration reached the south plain, Malaka was divided into two ketjamatan, districts, each of these headed by a tjamat.¹ This officer is endowed with more powers from the central authority on which, at the same time, he depends more closely. The office of tjamat also groups around itself the four services already mentioned plus those of public works, primary education, and Perikanan Darat, inland fisheries. The latter three were not yet represented in 1964 in the offices of the three Malaka districts for various reasons.

The tjamat has a much larger staff than had Liurai. The latter's personnel have been re-employed on minor orderly duties with the ketjamatan,^{while} most other clerks have been recruited ^{from} among school teachers in order to conform as closely as possible to the pattern imposed by the central administration. The personnel include a head clerk, an archivist, a treasurer, a number of clerks and typists, and a section of pagarpradja, formerly pagarbaja, or civil guards. The latter are provided with uniforms, conspicuous badges, and hard rubber truncheons. The team of five civil guards patrols the district, maintains order, makes arrests, and investigates cases. Their head, as an auxiliary of the Public Prosecutor, hands the brief over to the tjamat for transmission to a higher level at Atambua or to be settled at district level. The function of these guards is very much the same as that of the National Police, but also complementary to it. It is also

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Cf. Appendix B, p.133 seqq.

the duty of the Police to maintain order and to prepare cases and forward them to the Public Prosecutor but the Police force being recruited from other islands, mostly from Roti and Savu, does not normally receive many complaints or information likely to lead to an inquiry. Moreover any action taken by the police is resented. In contrast, the civil guards, being native to the district, are much closer to the people. With the civil guards the plaintiffs feel more confidence, but they must also be prepared to be met with less impartiality than with the National Police. The Police force, furthermore, can be legally requisitioned by the Public Prosecutor, whose representative in the district is the head of the civil guards, but that ^{because} this never happens in Malaka ~~is explained by the fact that the~~ Police ^{are} being comparatively well organized, armed and more directly commanded from the central (Djakarta) government, and ~~they~~ have a markedly dominant status over the local civil administration which, in the eyes of the Policemen, is made up of little more than 'villagers'.

From 1962 to 1964, when a non-noble administrative officer - a former school teacher - was made Tjamat Malaka Timur, the Liurai, L.S. Teeseran as hereditary, i.e. feudal ruler, was left aside, as it were. He retained his traditional title of Liurai, which is inseparable, and his swapradja title of Head of Common Custom Area (K.W.K.H.) and salary as well, but he was no longer in charge of the administrative affairs of the district. He was, however, still supposed to give his advice, but only when requested, that is mostly in complex disputes over land rights, the breaking of an engagement, non-payment of debts, etc. His presence at the hearing of such disputes was useful not because of his particular ability as a judge, but because ~~together with him there~~ usually came a few elders who were

acquainted with traditional ways. In contrast, when people brought such cases to a commoner tjamat, in his early thirties, who had spent many years in a teacher's school and in a Faculty of Law and Administration in Java, far removed from village life, they felt that they were misunderstood, if not held in some degree of contempt.

From this point of view, the restoration of the Liurai as tjamat in February 1964 constituted if not a major progress at least a slight improvement. I was able to determine that of ~~the flow of~~ cases which poured in the office of the Liurai in the few weeks following his return as head of the district, the great majority were cases which had been withheld ~~in an unsettled state~~ during the whole interim period.

The diagrams on page 42 illustrate these developments. Diagram number 4 is an hypothesis formed by some informants, who all know however, that the Liurai who has ~~but~~ received ^{only} a primary education, would be a poor Bupati (Regent). They also know that Nai Wehali who is now more than 60 years old would not apply for a position of tjamat. There are, moreover, virtually no individuals likely to fill either of these posts without great controversy.

Section IV. Demographic Aspect

The 1930 Census gave several totals for population of Belu:

1. Natives in the subdivision Belu	93,142
2. 'Belunese race'	94,435
3. Total population of the subdivision	94,586

How the total for the 'Belunese race' was obtained is not explained. It is likely however that it is the number of people who answered 'yes' to the question: Are you a Belu?

Radja (/K.W.K.H.)
L A M A K N E N
Chairman

Radja (/K.W.K.H.)
T A S I F E T O

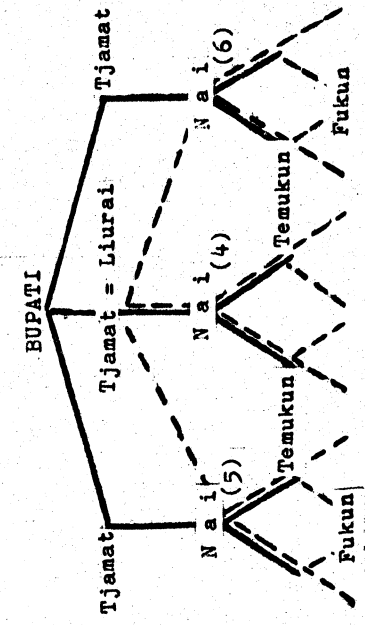
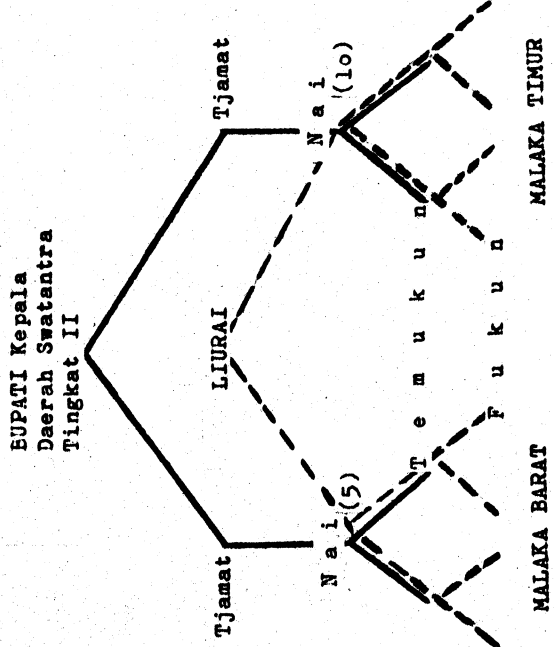
Body for
Provisional
Govt. of the
SWAPRADJA,
composed of

Radja (/K.W.K.H.)
M A L A K A
= L i u r a i

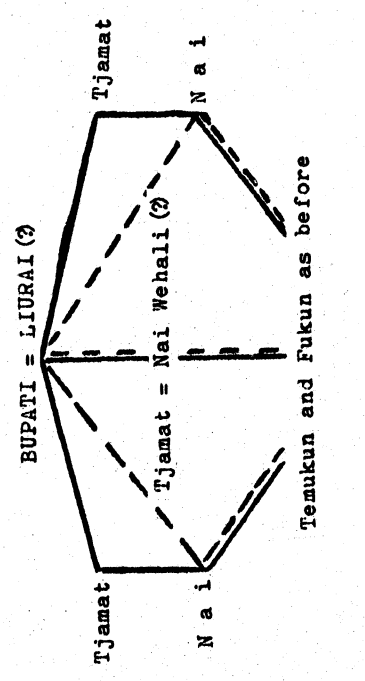
N a i (15)



1 2 3 4



MALAKA BARAT MALAKA TENGAH MALAKA TIMUR



MALAKA BARAT MALAKA TENGAH MALAKA TIMUR

ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN THE SOUTH PLAIN OF BELU

Diagram 1 shows the Swapradja situation abolished by the law No 69, 1958. Diagram 2 shows the resulting Swatantra situation. Diagram 3 shows effect of the reorganization of February 1964 which allowed the Liurai to be integrated into the administration. Diagram 4 shows the hypothetical situation of Malaka in case it becomes a Daerah Tingkat II of its own.

--- customery hierarchies
— administrative hierarchies

asked by the enumerators. The difference between 1. and 3. is made of Europeans (71), Chinese (893) and other Foreign Asiatics (480). There are no published data from the 1930 Census concerning the minor sections of the subdivision Belu but it will be remembered that at the time these were not permanently defined and were being constantly redefined.

The preliminary report of the 1961 Census published by the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics (June 1962) only gives figures for males, females, and the total population, down to the Daerah (subdivision) level. The total for Belu in 1961 is there given as 130,350, which represents an increase of some 30 per cent over the 31 years which separate the two censuses. This increase can be assumed to have been of the same order in the thirty years preceding the 1930 Census as it has been since 1930. The main cause for this increase is, according to the medical officer of Atambua and according to the people themselves, the introduction in 1908 of small-pox vaccination. Prior to that recurrent epidemics devastated whole villages. The vision is still alive In the memories of some of the older people of the victims stripping off all clothing, whose contact ~~of which~~ became unbearable and wrapping themselves in fresh banana leaves. The dead were hastily buried, most of the time without proper funerals. Forsaking of ritual obligations toward the dead ^{believed to be} the cause of further ravages from the disease.

One can only guess at the relative increase of the different sections of the population. In 1961 only two categories were distinguished: W.N.I. (warga negara Indonesia) Indonesian citizens and W.N.A. (warga negara asing) foreigners. Among the latter the Chinese can be expected to have steadily increased over the 30 years, but about a hundred of them left for Kupang and for continental

China when in 1960 the Government made retail trade illegal to foreigners outside the subdivision head towns and closed the Chinese schools. The category of Indonesian citizens, other than Timorese, has variations which follow the fluctuating policy of increasing or decreasing the police force, the Army and the number of other civil servants. The category of Europeans does not vary in the normal demographic ways. They are the members of the Divine Word missionary society (S.V.D.). Their number, however, is still important and so far not decreasing. They were 50 in 1963 in Belu only (36 priests and friars, 14 sisters), some of ~~them~~^{whom} had been granted Indonesian citizenship. It is obviously not in demographic terms that the importance of this small religious community is best appreciated.

The 1961 Census data which were made available to me in Betun, head town of Malaka - an administrative unit of its own in 1961 - are the summary lists of villages or rather of census circles, roughly corresponding to the jurisdiction of a temukun.¹ These lists show only 17 columns which have been chosen out of a number of about 30 possibles:

- Number of special households
- Number of members of same
- Number of common households
- Number of members of same, divided into
 - A) Indonesian citizens
 - a) 17 years old and more
 - b) under 17 years old
 - 1. married
 - 2. unmarried
 - B) Foreigners
- Number of rooms available for habitation

¹

Where there is no correspondence it is because either large villages have been subdivided into several circles or small villages have been put together to form a single circle.

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| - Horses | - Goats or sheep |
| - Cattle | - Pigs |
| - Water-buffaloes | - Fowl or ducks |

A sheet giving this array of information existed for all districts (nai) of the South plain at Betun. A bundle of other lists per household, was available for such districts as Mandeu, Kusa, which I had no opportunity to investigate at close range, but nothing was left for the plain districts of Wehali, Lakekun, Wewiku, etc. I attempted to trace these files along the chain of successive lenders and borrowers, but I was unsuccessful. A third category of records, the individual cards, the basic material of the census, had been forwarded to the Central Bureau of Statistics, but as they were stamped 'Secret' they would not have been communicated to me while I was undertaking research among the people concerned.

Densities

The density of the population of Indonesia is 51 inhabitants/km² (130 inh./sqm.) with a maximum of 477 inh./km² (1210 inh./sqm.) in Java-Madura and a minimum of 7.6 inh./km² (19.5 inh./sqm.) in Kalimantan. Nusa Tenggara Timur, the eastern archipelago, stands notably under the mean with 41 inh./km² (105 inh./sqm.) and this is also roughly the average density of the Island of Timor as a whole. As for the south plain its population has a density of more than double that of the island with 105 inh./km² (262.5 inh./sqm.). By further detailing the south plain of Belu, one has for Wehali proper (which includes the ramified sound and the salt-water swamps of Maubesi, and the south eastern slopes of the mountain ridge which isolate Wehali, both uninhabited), 95.6 inh./km² (229 inh./sqm.). The less populated, Lakekun, has a density of 56.7 inh./km²

(141.7 inh./sqm.) and the most populated is the lower right bank of the river Benenai with the interwoven people of Wewiku, Rabasa, Uma Lor, etc. of a density of 117 inh./km² (297.5 inh./sqm.).

The living conditions in the contiguous hill country of Dirma entail a contrasting spread of the population which shows there a density of only 47 inh./km² (117.5 inh./sqm.).

Out of the 80,000 inhabitants of the 15 districts (nai) of Malaka, only 141 persons are recorded in the Census as 'married under the age of 17'. The data does not indicate if both husband and wife are below 17 (although the odd figure of 141 would exclude this possibility) or if it concerns only one of the pair and in that case husband or wife. One census circle, in the Kletek-Suai twin village, shows in this column the number of 64 which is definitely excessive for a population of 427. I have found myself in this section of the village at very most 6 women who may have been married and under 17 years of age in 1961.

There is consequently nothing peculiar about the marriage of adolescents in Malaka. Nothing for instance like a monopolizing of young women by middleaged or elderly men, neither is there any question of child marriage. I have only known for certain of one case of a girl who was just about 15 at marriage. Her husband may have been 18 or 19, but not more.

A tendency, however, which is not shown in the census would be, on the contrary, that of late marriage. Due to the events of World War II, it is often possible to assign an approximate age to young people. The following picture is obtained from about 30 cases.

and 43 per cent for Dirma. The difference is too small to be significant.

The Census abstracts available at Betun give (allowing for a 5 per cent error), ^{apart from} ~~besides~~ sheer enumeration of the population of the villages and of the districts, little information of particular interest for our present purposes.

The columns 'Number of special households' and 'Number of inhabitants of same' was intended to show the existence of institutions such as barracks, offices, boarding schools and orphanages, but some enumerators reckoned the school shelters, the office and the store of the village co-operatives, the ^{inhabitants} ~~existence~~ of which ^{are few} ~~is so limited~~. Some others have reckoned the sacred houses, ~~but~~ Here a new difficulty arises inasmuch as the Wehali sacred houses are uninhabited whereas the immigrant peoples of Suai or Kamanasa, for instance, who originate from the plain of Suai in Portuguese Timor and who brought their sacred and profane house styles to Wehali in 1916, always assign an elderly couple to the duty of keeping the fire alight in them.

The last 6 columns concerned with animal husbandry do not deserve much consideration. For a people who invest in cattle and water-buffaloes it is very hard to tell the truth about their wealth in stock, a universal peasant reaction. As for the column 'Fowl and ducks' it is simply false, very few people even bother to count their numbers. Ducks, moreover, are practically unknown in the plain where the rare ponds are permanently occupied by water-buffaloes.

One indication is useful, that of the column 'Goats' (there are no Sheep). If some villages show one or two goats against one to two dozens in most villages, it is

not that the people have attempted to escape from a tax on stock, but that they are one of the villages which have developed a strong repulsion against goat meat which is in process of spreading in a number of other villages.

On the other hand there is a definite value in the columns 'Number of houses', 'total population', and 'number of inhabited rooms', when these are compared, and this especially when comparison is made again between the plain and the hill people. The two representative areas chosen for comparison are Wehali and Dirma. Dirma still belongs to Malaka politically, but follows the so-called mountain custom. The basic contrast between the two will be examined later, but it will be felt already in this.

It is in the number of inhabitants per room and the number of rooms per house that the interesting difference is revealed, although the number of inhabitants per house is roughly the same for both regions: Wehali 4.4 and Dirma 4.5.

It is a fact of plain observation moreover that both the plain people and those of the mountains have their houses built on the same basic plan. Both Wehali and Dirma have their houses divided into two parts: the inside and the front platform or verandah. Now for the plain the figure is slightly higher than it should be: 2.25, ~~and~~ I suggest that this is mostly due to the number of boarding schools, barracks, offices and Chinese shops of Betun. But it is considerably lower for Dirma with 1.5 rooms per house being inhabited. The pattern of inhabitation in Wehali is that sexes are strictly segregated in the houses and the figure is consequently of 2.25 inhabitants per room and 2.25×2 rooms equals 4.5 inhabitants per house. As for Dirma the figures of 1.5 rooms per house and 2.5 inhabitants per room, tell us

that in fact only one of the two rooms is used in three-quarters of the cases. If in Dirma 2.5 persons inhabit 1.5 rooms in a house which has actually 2 rooms and if there are 4.5 inhabitants to a house, it follows that 1.125 or 25 per cent of the people sleep outside. This very important fact finds its significance in connexion with the matter of matrilocality versus patrilocality, the basic distinction between Wehali and its hill neighbours.

Population Numbers

The population of the respective nai-kingdoms of Malaka is distributed as follows:

<u>CENTRAL MALAKA</u>	Wehali	11,300
	Fatu Aruin	5,000
	Manlea	5,220
	Bani-Bani	<u>3,680</u>
	Total	25,200
<u>WEST MALAKA</u>	Wewiku	13,450
	Uma Lor	5,000
	Dato Makdean	3,000
	Rabasa Hain	8,150
	Haitimuk	<u>1,180</u>
	Total	30,780
<u>EAST MALAKA</u>	Dirma	6,400
	Lakekun	2,110
	Litamali	1,730
	Alas	3,600
	Kusa	5,470
	Mandeu	<u>4,900</u>
	Total	24,210
	Total MALAKA	<u><u>80,190</u></u>

In Wehali itself it will be convenient to distinguish three geographic regions ~~on the one hand~~ and essential to divide the population in two major groups.

Geographically, Wehali has 80 per cent of its soil under 50 metres above sea level and 20 per cent of its territory includes the south west slopes of the low mountain ridge which isolates the plain. A few villages are settled there in the secondary forest which still covers parts of the hills. The mode of life of their population shows a few differences with those of the plain but their customs, especially with regard to marriage and residence, follow that of Wehali proper. These villages are Lolobot (400), Kateri (480), Basadebu (260), Biuduk (700) and Uma Sukaer (400), and their population totals for this category 2,240.

Then in a strip of plain ~~of~~ 2 to 4 km. wide along the edge of foothills, a core of villages constitutes Wehali Fohohun, foho hun, Lit. mountain trunk, i.e. leaning against the body of the hills.

These are:	Bakateu	650
	Umakatahan	600
	Laran	400
	Manumuti Benai	550
	Tabene	<u>540</u>
		2,790

Finally, a large agglomeration of villages grouped under the common name of Aintasi, lit. foot sea, are on the lower left bank of the River Benenai, in the soft loam of the low coastal area. This population of 3,330 is distributed as follows:

Kletek	460
Nataraen	
Uma Fatik	450
Nataraen	
Tasi	380
Manumuti Brubit	540
Tetibani	480
Naekasak	385
Wedare	195
Fahiluka	240
Loosina	200

This brings to 8,360 the population of Wehali proper. The rest of its 11,300 inhabitants are the immigrants of the first two decades of the century when the Dutch and the Portuguese were coming to a painstaking settlement over their border. They came from several parts of the border area on the Portuguese side, but if they came on the occasion of the exchange of territory it was not always directly for this reason.

The people of Maukatar, when this area was exchanged against Noimuti, were given by the Dutch the opportunity to leave Maukatar and to resettle in Dutch territory. An important part of the population, mainly the Buna¹, left for Lamaknen in the eastern part of what looks like a peninsula on the map. No land being available for them and the hostilities of Tahakae-Dirun not being over, they trekked southward until they reached Wehali and settled some at Tubaki (Labarai) where the Dutch had a post and the Mission a small station, some close to the villages of Manumuti Benai, of Nataraen Uma Fatik, and a few others went as far as Besikama on the true right bank of the Benenai River. These people remember favourably the way the Dutch offered help and assistance in their transfer. ~~As for~~ ~~The~~ Tetun speakers of Maukatar, Okes, Fohorua and Matai, ~~they~~ followed the same movement but ^{went} along the south coast together with the people from Suai, Kamanasa, Bolan and Raimea. The latter may have had troubles with the African troops of the Portuguese, and they were apparently the last to leave after a long resistance to some sort of a siege. Being recognized as good fighters, it is said that they have been deliberately resettled by Wehali Lords at the westernmost limit of Malaka at the present village of Wanibesak right on the border of the south of Nenometan, a troublesome lot of Amanatun. Their

¹ Maukatar is an agglomerate of both Buna and Tetun speaking minor units each of which is under one nai.

famous ability at spear throwing and in the use of slings is still today put to occasional use against Amanatun raiders.

The reason for leaving, given by the Suai people, is obscure and seems to have been merely panic. They maintain that at that time the Portuguese decided to build a prison at the post of Suai (Debus) and that they brought for this construction two enormous cast iron pillars. It was thought at once that as the erection of these pillars necessitated two heads for their foundation holes, it was safer to leave before any sacrifice took place. This sort of belief is still in existence at present in all layers of the society, peasants as well as some of the higher ranking officials. In May 1963 when Australian engineers, under the Colombo Plan, disembarked at Kupang and unloaded building material and engines for the reconstruction of Timor trunk road, the rumour spread at once throughout the country, and caused panic as far as Wehali, that the Government had simultaneously released 2 to 5,000 convicts to hunt heads needed in great numbers in view of the number and large size of the bridge piles which were to be erected. The belief is deeply rooted and widespread over the Eastern Sunda Archipelago, as evidenced by the deep reactions of anxiety to the news by some of the policemen and civil servants whom I knew and who were native of nearby islands.

Questioned later on the reality of the prison building story at Suai, the Portuguese Head of Public Works at Dili, emphatically denied that such a thing as a prison had ever been built at Suai...

The newcomers are commonly called ema malaik, people who fled (m.a.-lai.k from h.a.-lai: to run, to escape, to flee) and this term is resented since they insist on the fact that they did not really run away but merely returned

to the lap of Wehali, the mother, as would a child do with his mother when in difficulty.¹ They distinguish themselves from one another and from Wehali people in many respects, some of them trifling subtleties, and call themselves usually by the name of their village of origin, ami ema Su we people (of) Suai, etc. As for the Buna' people the differences are important, particularly the language which is altogether different from Tetun.

The most noticeable of the newcomers are the Suai people settled at Kletek (1,020), those of Kamanasa in Fohohun (635), and those of Bolan in Aintasi (450) and of Matai close to Tabene (160). The Buna' who have settled at Labarai, Nataraen - Uma Fatik and Manumuti Benai number about 75, 200 and 150 respectively. The newcomers thus total 2,715. Some 250 inhabitants, ^{سواي} which constitute the difference between the total population of Wehali and the above sum of newcomers, are the few families who are more or less permanently settled in their garden huts for various reasons, some of these being never acknowledged. The Chinese traders and the foreigners (non Indonesians and non Timorese Indonesians) who live at Betun have already been enumerated as part of the three neighbouring villages Bakateu, Umakatahan, and Laran.

1

It is interesting that the same Original Indonesian root *lai, to flee and the act itself are, according to a tradition, at the origin of the word melayu, Malay, for the people who founded the trading states of the Malacca straits. This explanation is disputed by Ferrand [1918, X 419 n. and 1918, XXII:117-8] where he shows it to be sheer popular etymology. It is found in the Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque [Hakluyt Society, no.62, III:76] '...in the language of Jaoa, when a man of Palimbão flees away they call him a Malayo...' And again in the Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires [Hakluyt Society, no.89] in much the same terms.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORY

Section I. Contacts

Malaka and its politico-religious centre of Wehali do not offer much positive material for historians and there are wide prospects for conjecture.

The history of contacts with Westerners, however, offers some dates for reference and in this respect it has more than an extraneous value when the dates can bracket events mentioned in the oral traditions of the people. Further, without some of the dates, most of the traditional accounts which are overloaded with mythical heroes and deeds could be simply dismissed.

Mention of the Timor south coast 'kingdoms' is first found in the narrative of the voyage of Pigafetta who set foot at Atapupu on 26th January 1522 with what was left of Magellan's fleet.¹ The Spanish were not the first foreign to visit Timor. Pigafetta met there a junk from Luzon who was loading sandal wood, and the Portuguese had already made several trips to Timor in the decade which followed the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese led by Afonso Dalboquerque (1511). No record actually mentions as accurately as Pigafetta did the landing points of the Portuguese of that time in Timor, but Tomé Pires let it be known that they had trade relations with the spice islands in the Banda sea and the sandal wood islands of Timor and Sumba. Obviously the Portuguese followed trade routes which were already known.

¹

Cf. p.67.

to the Malay and other Asian sea-farers. Groeneveldt traced only one prior reference to Timor in a Chinese text of 1436 A.D. [Groeneveldt 1880, 1960 reprint:116], but there is little doubt that the Chinese may have been attracted by sandal wood and wax much earlier than that, possibly in the thirteenth century during the reign of Kublai Khan.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Portuguese knew both progress and regress in their enterprises in the Eastern Archipelago. But even after their loss of Malacca in 1641 to the Dutch, they maintained a firm position in the Sandal wood Islands which the Dutch had not successfully penetrated.

Although the Dutch, who had settled at Kupang in 1613 and built a fort there, had ~~concluded~~^{made} repeated contracts with the 'Belo' provinces of the south coast in 1668, 1742, 1749 and 1756, and had even sent a loo-man troop against 'Belo' in 1753, there is evidence that the Portuguese were still very influential and even at times regained full domination in the affairs of Wehali, Wewiku, Dirma, etc. until the late eighteenth century, particularly at the decline of the East India Company (V.O.C. Vereenigd Oostindische Compagnie). In a war-medecine house of Uma Lor, one of the four Nai who are under Loro Wewiku, are kept a number of Portuguese letters in a wooden trunk. They are difficult to read ^{partly} because they were written by scribes who were more eager to display their mastery of calligraphy than to be readable and mainly because the paper has been worm-eaten particularly where it had been inked. Among the partly readable letters there is one dated 1780, signed Fereira Cortez and countersigned with crosses by the kings (Portuguese: Reis) of 'Babico, Veale, Aillalla, Naetimo', and to refer ^{ing} to the nomination of a

certain Seran Dato as chief of a village only mentioned as Leo Ida, which literally means: 'one village' ! There is also a certificate stating that the Queen of Portugal gave 'Rei Veale' (King of Wehali) the title of Colonel. It is dated 1778 and is beautifully signed. Unfortunately the letter does not give the name of the Rei Veale nor any indication as to either his natal village or house, or his native title, Liurai or Nai Bot. Earlier letters are also to be found in a village of the centre of Wehali, Lafoun. They refer to contracts of sandal wood and wax. Some others seem to be safe-conducts, receipts, etc. Dates in this lot of papers range from 1737 and 1744 and some are signed by Vincente de Moura, by Diegos de Mendonça, and by Capuccino Don Thomas de Prates. Among the native names only one ~~name~~ was readable: 'Joao Loe de Seram, vizir de Amanubao' ~~from~~ⁱⁿ which Loe and Seran only are Tetun elements. This letter mentions the name of Noimuti, the territory between Amanuban and the Belu districts which remained Portuguese until 1916. How these are found in Wehali and why the Dutch penetrations of these times have left no trace is impossible to say.

The Paravicini Commission Report /Leuppe 1877-78: 426/ tabled at the High Government of Batavia in 1757 mentions 'the great prince of Belo and sovereign king of Wywiku, Bahale, etc. who judging by his name Hiacinto Correa, must be of Roman conviction'. The memories of Wehali have not retained the name nor the deeds of this particular king. But it is still remembered that three kings of Malaka: Bere Nadu Wehali (obviously a corruption of Bernardo, Bere is still a quite common name there but Nadu is not), Klau Seran of Rabasa and Don Famili (from Filomeno according to some informants) of Suai had been sent 'abroad' to school. It is also said that they had

they had difficulties in regaining their position. They had on their return to fight their respective delegates, Nahak Atik Kalia of Tabene and Kalau Bria Nanoet of Rabasa, and execute them by tying them up at the gate of a corral and then releasing buffaloes which trampled over them. The story of the impostors is thus almost better known than that of the legitimate rulers. These two rulers are said subsequently to have successfully repelled the Portuguese who tried to disembark at Pennefui, about ten miles east of Kupang. Wehali lost one warrior in the battle, Bere Neke who was shot in the eye. The battle of Pennefui is reported in various Dutch sources, particularly in a letter dated 31 December 1749 from the chief of the factory of Kupang to Batavia: 'On the 9th November of this year the Black Portuguese who came to storm Kupang with a troop of 40,000 men were completely beaten by our troops at Penefoij which is situated in the vicinity of the above mentioned place'. Request is made in the same letter to make a new establishment in the Belu country where it had been abandoned because it had been found unprofitable [Roo 1904:198]. The connexion in the same letter of the two matters may be an indication that the Belu kings had something to do with the Pennefui affair. There would thus be some truth, but not much though, in the native account recorded on 22 April 1963. One cannot be too surprised on the one hand that the Dutch of the mid-eighteenth century grossly included several tribes under the name 'Zwarte Portugezen' (cf. p.21 fn.1.) and on the other hand that the present native historians confuse the Dutch and the Portuguese of the past history since the Tetun of today refer to the Dutch as Malae metan, lit. foreigners black and to the Portuguese as Malae mutin, lit. foreigners white while the Dawan speakers do exactly the contrary by

applying the name of Kase mutin to the Dutch and of Kase metan to the Portuguese (kase: foreigner among other meanings). Pennefui, moreover, is in a Dawan speaking area.

A much more famous head of Malaka, Liurai Don Pedro, is also said to have been sent abroad by the Portuguese to receive an education. His name has been kept in the memories in association with the sobriquets of Don Beur and Don Tolek (beur: trickster; tolek: a bell or a jingle, i.e. one who makes oneself heard of but who is devoid of contents, also meaning: immodest). He left Wehali with some sacred objects which were deposited in Uma Maromak, lit. house (of the) luminous, the principal sacred house of Wehali.

'Malae na'ak Don Pedro. Timur na'ak Dasi Kehi
Foreigners say Don Pedro. Timor say Dasi Kehi

Berek. Timur na'ak la'o to'o Dili naha lakon.
Berek. Timor say go till Dili objects vanish.

Malae na'ak to'o Dili naha ha'i na rahun
Foreigners say till Dili objects fire eats powder

no besa no osa mean. Kfaululik Talobo lian
and cannon and money red. Kfaululik Talobo word

mak ne'e.
which this.

The foreigners call him Don Pedro, the Timorese call him Dasi (a title for high birth nobles) Kehi Berek. The Timorese say he went to Dili where the sacred objects disappeared. The foreigners say that once the goods were at Dili a fire destroyed the gunpowder, the cannons and the gold money. This is the story as known to Kfaululik Talobo. (A Suai village section.)
[Bei Suai, march 1963].

Liurai Don Pedro is held responsible for the loss of these valuables. Another informant, Nai Uma Klaran, ruler of a few villages east of Atambua, gave the more complete name of Don Manuel Pedro Irimida. This Liurai, on his return

after being educated overseas, decided to move Wehali to Knain Gurita - a small bay west of Atapupu - in order to promote and to control the trade of lili no ai, lit. wax and (sandal) wood. He made a tour of all states excluding those of Sonbai and of Likusaen to organize the trade and on his return he died at Lahurus. The Portuguese garrison fired a 60 gun salute into the ground and 60 into the air over his grave. There is no indication in this version [June 1963] that this Don Pedro took away any of the sacred objects of Wehali and squandered them¹ but by dying far away from Laran, Wehali's capital village, he brought about the same result as the Don Pedro of the southern informants: the collapse of at least one of Wehali's attempts to achieve commercial and political hegemony, to match its ideological and ritual dominance. The Southerners back in Wehali and Suai of course dismiss the northern story on the grounds that following the matrilineal principles which hold ~~there~~ a house or a lineage does not die out with a man's death.

Other items found in the profane and sacred houses of Malaka are of little value for tracing and dating the history of the people. One finds necklaces of brown-red opaque glass beads (Tetun: mortèn) which are still worn by the people on ceremonial occasions and not buried with the dead. Little is known of these except that they cannot possibly have been made locally and that they probably came from more western parts of the archipelago. It would be useful to be able to answer the question of whether the

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It is said on the contrary in this version that Don Pedro brought back, on his return from abroad, a jar full of golden staff hilts to be distributed to the vassals who would become his followers. He would have disembarked and begun the distribution at Oe Kusi, variously transcribed as Ocussi, Oikoesi, Oi Cusse. Literally oe means rattan (j) and kusi, jar.

main bulk of the beads were brought to the people or if the people brought the beads with them in their migrations. As this is impossible to decide, whatever means are used to determine the actual age and origin of the beads will not be of much help towards answering the question. From Rouffaer [1899] to Lamb [1965] including Nieuwenhuis [1904] and van der Hoop [1932], however, there has been much progress in our knowledge of the manufacture and trade of glass beads. It is now argued that they are of Malaysian manufacture from imported Middle Eastern scrap glass material [Lamb 1965: p.35]. The evidence put forward by Snouck Hurgronje [quoted by Nieuwenhuis 1904: 136] that he had met, in the Lampong district of South Sumatra, Arabs who bought old beads there and sold them with a substantial profit in Timor, only shows that these had then a greater value in Timor than in Sumatra. The only trading of bead necklaces that I have seen going on in Wehali and Suai was done between the local people themselves and was a rare occurrence. None were purchased from nor sold to outsiders.

All other objects are more recent and often less exorbitantly valued than the beads. Silver and gold coins are all recent: Netherland Indies florins, Mexican pesos (legally used in Portuguese Timor at the beginning of the century), Kwantung province 20 cent coins, and gold sovereigns not older than George V. Older coins have either not been shown to me or it is more likely that they have already been turned into ornaments of various kinds.

One house, Uma Liurai of Kamanasa, preserves a statue which is said to be that of St Franciscus-Xaverius and which may be of the eighteenth century. Another house preserves a red stocking and a broad-rimmed felt hat said to have been left by the Portuguese who came first to open

the trade of sandal wood with the south coast. Cannons, boat guns, flint-lock guns, locks, padlocks and keys, bronze bits and stirrups of various sizes and conditions which I have not been able to date precisely could be from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries and of either Portuguese or Dutch origin, are found in many sacred houses. At one place on the swampy coast between Rabasa and Lo'ofoun six bronze cannons lie on the beach under a dilapidated shed, the place is called kwarut, which reminds one of the Portuguese guarita, meaning sentry-box. The people hold every single item of these articles in high value and particularly so the large size guns to which offerings of the first fruit of maize are often made. This is the case for two such guns at knua raik, lit. place low, the former but now abandoned residence of the Liurai close to Laran. The guns are known as kilat inan, lit. gun mother; kilat oan, gun child, or simply kilat, being the ordinary muzzle loaded shotguns.

Next in mystical value to the guns and beads come the sabres. At least a couple of old blades are preserved in practically every house no naran, lit. with a name. They are usually all fitted with a wooden hilt and a sheath. Some are surprisingly short when compared with the length of the curved sheaths which contain them. ^{This is} Probably because they have been manufactured from the little amount of iron available to the people at the beginning of barter trade, but also certainly because the original blade obtained from the foreigner as a token or at war has been cut in two, the value of a weapon residing more in its mystical power than in its actual technical characteristics. Only a very few bear legible distinctive marks such as VOCA 1771, or VOCE 1784.¹ The sabres used in ceremonies or

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Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, United East-Indies Company. The meaning of A and E is not known to me.

for parade now-a-days are all fitted with a buffalo horn hilt in the shape of a cock's head. The older ones, (surik samara, lit. sabre panache) which are almost never taken out of the house, are all fitted with a much more ancient type of hilt with a very narrow grip and a trapezoidal pommel trimmed with bleached and red-dyed goat hair. At the lower part of the pommel next to the grip is an unmistakable penis motif. An extreme sex consciousness prevails among both sexes and all age groups in the south plain, and my informants were very reluctant to describe this decorative detail of the ancient hilts for what it is. The change from one hilt style to another might be described as showing that present day prudery has not always been so prevalent; in other words that the standard of decency has undergone a change: formerly the exhibition of a manifest sexual symbol was possible, but at a later time it became impossible and had to be replaced, at least on those blades which were exhibited and used. It is now neither possible to give a date for this nor to discover how the historical events took place, but the coexistence of these ancient 'immodest' hilts and the more recent 'decent' hilts both fitted to sabre blades of the same period (V.O.C.) clearly indicates that a change in hilt style has occurred since the time of importation of the blades. It is not inconceivable that such a change was made necessary by an increase in sex consciousness, itself a consequence of the progressive elaboration of the relative condition of men and women ~~met~~ at present in this society where women are dominant, primarily in the mystical order, and where sex is seen as a dangerous matter. That sabres are typical symbols of male sexual ~~attribute~~ needs no demonstration, particularly when their hilts of ancient style bear a direct phallic

representation. But the adoption of a cock head as a new style of hilt, notwithstanding a loss of manifestness, shows a remarkable survival of the male sexual symbolic function attached to sabres.

In this general atmosphere of fear of sex and women, characteristic of south plain culture, the cock fulfills its symbolic function in a particularly unobtrusive way. He has no apparent genitals, and although it is understood that copulation occurs when the hens are trodden, no relation is made between this and the fecundation of eggs. Fecundation is believed to be the sole responsibility of the hen and to occur when eggs are moved and turned in the nest with the beak to make them hatch. The eggs which do not hatch are those which the hen has omitted to turn.

It is particularly striking that this matrilineal society has chosen from among animals which display markedly male behaviour one which has no visible sexual organs and no alleged role in procreation as symbolic of such typically male objects as sabres.¹ The same cock head motif described for the new style of hilts is also found on the end of a dozen sticks which protrude above the lor (male) platform of most houses, and serve to keep the eaves raised in a sort of visor above the steps leading to the platform,² and also in ~~the place of~~ the scrolls of locally made violins and at the top ends of the bows. This enumeration nearly exhausts the list of sculpted objects which can be found in the south plain of Belu. It means also that this motif is the only one used in sculpture.

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Cf. the famous controversy between B. Malinowski and E. Jones on the question of the sexual ignorance of savages

2

Cf. chapter on the house.

Section II. Mythic History: Likusaen

A typical example of what could simply be seen as a historically unreliable myth is the story of the war of Likusaen. This is a lia tur, lit. word sit(ing), as opposed to lia ri:k, word stand(ing), a ~~rhymed~~ ^{rhyming} address made at ceremonies and to lia nain, word (about) noble(s), which are told at night in secrecy and often also include long sections of ~~rhymed~~ ^{rhyming} epic poems.

The war of Likusaen is told in several slightly varying versions all over Malaka. As I cannot relate them ~~down to~~ ^{with} the full details of this rather intricate story, the present outline will be an amalgamation of the variants.

The nai of Wehali and the nai of Rai Lor (broadly the eastern half of Timor) met at Maubesi-Weto sound where they were casting their nets. They were brothers, i.e. real brothers of the same father and mother, Nahak Fahik Fumemi was their father and Balo Diak Rai Nain their mother, who were themselves both begotten from the same original couple Klilit Hain (M) and Karau Besi Hain (F) who had emerged from the swampy sound of Maubesi Weto, according to one of the versions. In these lores after the usual competition over their respective powers at net-casting and boar-hunting - the outcome of which was indecisive - they exchanged invitations to visit one another's palaces. Rai Lor Nain, had previously gained the name of Likusaen Nain (lit. python king, by picking up the dead body of his

mother-and-father's sister's husband¹ who was a python emerged from Maubesi Weto) and was to come to Wehali Lara first. There he was entertained by his brother Suri Tuan Wehali. The prime duty of hospitality was to offer one's own wife to one's guest. But Suri Tuan deceived his brother by not presenting him with his wife Dasi Teli Baul Feto Kmesak (feto_n, sister/woman, kmesak, only), i.e. their common sister, but with Abu Rekot instead, a retained a feto ra.² Presages and various signs made Likusaen Nair realize the treachery of his brother. Offended, he left and went to organize a party from his own vassals and a long war ensued, all the events of which are reported in rhymes; most of them esoteric, but even so still in great favour among bards and courting youths. Suri Tuan was eventually killed and beheaded, but his head, accompanied by a couple of war heroes, carried on the war and by a major stratagem brought the house of Likusaen to near

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The story is far from being known by everybody but everyone in the plain will repeat the mythic gesture when finding a dead python across one's way, and throw it in the branches of the nearest tree or bush. The people are not keen on hunting python snakes, but they have little hesitation in killing one which crosses their path and will attempt to flay it with the intention of selling the skin. They will never eat the flesh of a python or other snakes. I have been told of some who resisted hard beatings by the Japanese troops who tried for fun to force them to eat snake flesh. Most of my informants however refused to admit that custom forbids the consumption of this and a few other kinds of food (crocodile, 'musang' civet-cat, etc.) which have some role in the mythology. Between the consumption of one of these and a resulting illness or death they could only recognize the existence of a physical causation. The more educated among them called it 'allerg'

2
Possibly from feto rae, i.e. a woman from the back of the house: rae; the privilege of a noble woman being of sitti in the lor, front half of the house (cf. infra chapter on the house).

extinction. The remainder of Likusaen, one girl, left their territory, situated in a plain immediately north of Maubesi Weto, for some place in the north-east which no one in Wehali dares to visit for fear of reprisals. Since that time there are no relations between Wehali and Likusaen. But it is the sincere hope of some officials of the Belu Regency at Atambua to have the dispute settled as soon as the reunification of Timor is achieved.

One of the reasons for relating this myth, if only briefly, is that Likusaen is mentioned by Pigafetta in 1522 as being one of the four kingdoms of the south coast of Timor.

On the other side of the island are four brothers, who are the kings [Italian: li re] of that island. Where we were there were cities [It.: ville] and some of their chiefs [It.: principalle]. The names of the four settlements [It.: habitatiõe] of the kings are as follows: Oibich, Lichsana, Suai and Cabanaza. Oibich is the largest...
[Blair and Robertson 1906, vol.34:121].

In addition, Pigafetta drew a sketch map which leaves no doubt as to where Likusaen was in his days. Nowadays Likusaen is a small seaside town of the north coast in Portuguese territory about 30 km. west from Dili. It has been there ever since the earliest reports of the V.O.C. De Roo van Aldervereldt, who went through many V.O.C. documents kept in Batavia (in 1904), gives one reference to Lixan dated 2 October 1759 and this in direct connexion to Maubara, i.e. on the north coast. Le Roux [1929: 34 fn. 3] has been much puzzled by the discrepancy between Pigafetta's and the present, but ^{of} long standing, location of Likusaen, and he made a ~~much detoured~~ ^{very circuitous} equation to account for it. In his view, Lichsana = Insana = Fatu Aruin seat of the Liurai.

The colonel, head of the district of Insana and his family originate from Fatu Aruin where the chief (Liurai) of the fourth tribe had settled. In the old acts of the V.O.C. the names Lixan, Lixsan, Loksa and Lioksang recur sometimes in connexion with Insana; normally this is situated on the north coast of Portuguese Timor between Dili and Maubara. Here indeed is found Liquiça, now the capital of the 2nd district (conselha). Cf. Rouffaer, TNAG 1910: map XVIII.
Le Roux: ibid.

More recently Middelkoop [1960:20] took the same view without supporting it by any new facts. But besides the fact that there is no common point in this matter between Insana and Liurai Malaka on the one side and Likusaen on the other, it seems now clear on the evidence of the war of Likusaen story, that Pigafetta had been accurately informed on the location of Likusaen, on the south coast, and it is possible thus to date this war and the exodus of Likusaen to not earlier than 1522 and not later than 1759. The latter date could certainly be lowered by further research in archives, particularly in Portuguese archives which I have had no opportunity to consult. The fact that the people of Wehali and Malaka generally consider these events to have taken place so early in their history, at the third generation from the emergence out of Maubesi Weto,¹ should not surprise us once it is known that the particular informant who gave me this genealogy, a man of between 70 and 80 years of age, placed himself at the seventh generation since the emergence.

The consequence of this is, ~~and~~ it would be unreasonable to expect the contrary, that the time depth consciousness of the people must be seen as quite unrealistic; but on the other hand their historical accounts may be accounts of

¹and/or from the disembarkment at Marlilu Haholek, cf. *infr* p.78.

real events and some of them can be trusted provided there are some precise data to serve as milestones; unfortunately there are too few of these.

A short visit in June 1964 to Liquiça on a market day where many old men were present was disappointing: none of them could understand Tetun, the language of that section of the coast region being Tukudede. The mediation of the Portuguese Administrator as voluntary interpreter did not help in loosening the old men's tongues. The mention of the names of Suri Tuan Wehali and of his two leading warriors Teti Bauk Laknaban and Bere Bauk Laknaban did not stir their blood as Wehali informants had told me it would not fail to do. The Liurai Likusaen was in the interior at that moment and anyhow he might not have been very helpful on matters of ancient history since in the Portuguese province the Liurai, nai and other 'Reis' are chosen more for their administrative ability and reliability than for their nobility.

Pigafetta's enumeration of the four settlements of the four king brothers raises two other problems, that of Kamanasa and that of Wehali. Le Roux [1929:35, fn.1] on the evidence of Pigafetta's chart of Laut Chidol (Malay: laut, sea, kidul, south), where Cabanaza is plotted on the southern tip of the island, identifies Cabanaza as Bakanasi which is near Kupang and is - or was - the residence of the emperor (Dutch: Keizer) of Little Sonbai. But it should be noted firstly, that Pigafetta had not seen the south coast of Timor and may not have drawn the map himself, and secondly ^{that} in his enumeration of the four kings' settlements he quotes Cabanaza in the fourth and easternmost position which is the one Kamanasa still retains to the present day on the south coast a couple of miles north east from Suai between the mouths of the river

Tafara and Karau Ulun. ~~It is a fact that~~ there is no mention in the tradition of Kamanasa ever having been settled west of Wehali and even less evidence that it had ever been as far as Kupang. There has been indeed an important migration of Kamanasa people toward Wehali, but only in the recent past, in 1911-16 at the time of the settlement of the border dispute.

As for the omission of Wehali from Pigafetta's list, I have only tentative arguments to put forward to account for it. The first may be that it had not come into existence yet. Indeed the only evidence, that Wehali is the most ancient kingdom, is given by the myths and the beliefs attached to them. The dogmas of its preexistence to, and preeminence over, the others might well have been set up as a necessary condition in the building up of its politico-religious dominance. Although the creation myth, or its various versions concerned with the origin of the population and of its lords, appear to have some historical value, they cannot be ~~held for~~ ^{taken as} undebatable evidence that Wehali already existed at the time of Pigafetta's enquiries.

The alternative explanations of this omission, however, allow a less radical consideration of negative possibilities. According to the native historians, Wehali is the first and foremost of all Timor states, but it is still said paradoxically by the same persons that 'Wehali in fact does not exist'! And there is some ground for this as it is possible to see in Wehali more an ideal than an effectively political state. Wehali belongs to a different sphere, a mystical and occult one. A northerner on being asked by Pigafetta 'who were the "kings"?' might well have consciously omitted Wehali where there was - and still is - a Maromak

oan, lit. a child of God, confined to ha toba hemu toba, lit. eat reclining drink reclining, and a Liurai devoted to controlling and emulating the nai of the various other vassal states of the island into paying due homage to Wehali.

It may also be that Pigafetta's informant meant to mention only the states actually bordering the sea which was the case for the four king brothers he mentioned but may not have been the case at that time of Wehali. A little known characteristic, even among most learned informants of the present time, is that Laran and some of its neighbouring villages used to move to and fro between the regions of Fohohun (against the foothills) and of Aintasi (on the seaside) about every 60 to 80 years. When coconut and palm trees (Borassus, Areca and Corypha) were showing signs of exhaustion new plantations of these essentials¹ were started at the alternative place and in the next ten years while the plantations grew to maturity the people prepared for a complete removal of their villages to the new places. At the time of the entry of the Dutch troops in the south plain, in 1906, there was some discussion already going on about the next removal which would have been made from the present Laran Fohohun to the old, now theoretically uninhabited, Laran Aintasi. The new situation created by the introduction of the Dutch administration diverted their minds toward new concerns, and the project of removal was scrapped and fell into oblivion.

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Actually only coconut and areca palm trees can be planted Borassus and Corypha ('lontar' and sago) may not be planted but are natural enough to the environment to regenerate easily in such a time span. The present increase of population leads to a shortage of both palms.

There are in Pigafatta's account several other references to the people of middle Timor which appear only remotely relevant to this subject but which nevertheless deserve careful attention. For instance, Pigafetta wrote that the people he met wore nothing and had short hair. This is in complete contrast to what currently prevails among the Tetun-speakers and the Dawan people with whom I am acquainted. Firstly, in both groups men as well as women wore very long hair until recently. The mode of tying up the bun and of fastening it with long and narrow fork-combs was the only sex differentiation in hair style. Men's combs were shorter and they wore their buns at the back of the head, not on the top or on the side of the head as women of the south plain do.

Secondly, Pigafetta's statement that men and women went naked is surprising, not so much because it implies the absence of weaving, but because since this observation was made, the middle Timorese have won a well deserved fame for their ikat-dyed cloth production. This achievement is particularly remarkable as they could have either persisted in their early sixteenth century condition until almost today as the Alorese have, or be content with importing foreign cloth which Chinese, Portuguese and other traders offered in exchange of their valuable native products, as did numerous other islanders of the Indonesian archipelago. On the contrary, throughout the Tetun and Dawan-speaking areas one finds the women devoted to skilful and elaborate weaving in cotton yarn which is locally grown, home spun and dyed with ikat process.¹

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A technique which has been extremely well studied by Bühler 1943 and 1951, among others. Ikat, a Malay word, ~~is said~~ ^{becomes} futus in Tetun, and both mean ligature.

The reputation of middle Timor cloth has extended to neighbouring islands and large men's cloths of 2.50 x 1.5 metres have been exported to West Irian by unknown trade routes, where they draw exceedingly high prices and are even cut up into hand-size pieces and used as money for the payment of bride wealth.¹ This occurs at least in Mejbrat territory around lake Ajamaru [Pouwer 1957:302]. The highly valued 'kain Timor' (Timor cloth) used for these transactions originates from the Tetun hill regions of Kusa, Manlea, Dirma and Mandeu, judging from the patterns and the colours.

If it were not for this report of Pigefatta, who is on the whole highly reliable, there would be little possibility of assigning a definite time depth to the art of weaving in middle Timor.²

'Must the conclusion be drawn from this', asks Le Roux [1928:36] 'that the art of weaving had not yet been introduced in Timor at that time?' In other words is it necessary, on this evidence, to limit the age of such an elaborate industry, occupying an estimate of as

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Several such pieces of cloth are kept in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leyden, Netherlands.

2

Groeneveldt quotes a Chinese report dated as late as 1618 (book IV of 'Researches in the Eastern and Western Ocean') which states that 'men and women cut their hair and wear short dresses. When they sleep at night they do not cover themselves' [Groeneveldt 1880, 1960 reprint:116]. But an identical statement is found in a 1434 'General Account of Peregrinations at Sea' also quoted by Groeneveldt [ibid.]. So that it can be wondered whether the 1618 quotation is not simply a copy of the 1434 document, the Chinese often having more consideration for literary sources than for empirically acquired notions. The observation of Pigafett has the additional advantage of being localized to the region of Atapupu and Batugade whereas the Chinese geographers gave no such precision.

much as 40 per cent of the time of contemporary women, to less than 400 years? This limitation may not be necessary for the whole area. There is not the slightest indication in language, traditions, and usage in the south plain that weaving is an introduced technique. None of the materials, tools or their names give any definite indication in this sense. References to the loom (atis), the sword (surik), the geared twin rollers used to separate cotton seeds from the fibres (fatuledu), the spindle (kida), etc. abound in myths and poems. By comparison in this respect there is no doubt as to the relatively recent importation of the horse, which is called kabau malae, foreign buffalo, and never mentioned in any of the myths or tales I have heard. The same applies to maize, batar malae, i.e. foreign cereal, although agricultural rituals concerned with maize are many and fairly elaborate.¹

On the contrary, the well attested absence of clothes woven or otherwise, in the hill region is consistent with the theory of the politico-religious dominance of Wehali over the hills and the rest of the island. On the basis of the above indications, hypotheses may be proposed that firstly, the culture which existed circa 1500 (\pm 100) was dominant over the hill tribes which Pigafetta met on the north coast. These tribesmen wore no clothing, but it is very unlikely that this was the case on the south coast. Knowledge of weaving has little chance of being as recent an innovation as the acquisition of horses and maize. Secondly the contemporary culture of the south plain still

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Both horse and maize are notably absent from the lists of animals and vegetable products which Pigafetta had noted while dealings for revictualling were going on. /Le Roux 1928:31, 38-9/.

retains a certain dominance over the hills, e.g. particularly in the mystical sphere and presumably chronologically too.

In Wehali of today, which is claimed as the centre of what was once the Great Timor Empire, men and women wear plain white and black cloth respectively and it is the hill people who possess the best ikat cloths and wear them day and night.

The tenuous relation between these two different situations is provided by the tradition which also accounts for the difference between the rules of descent and marriage in the south plain and in the hill country. The following is the postulated explanation. The south plain people whose superiority resided in their material culture, the superiority of their warriors and mostly in the magical potency of the sacred possessions of Uma Rai Lalian (the house of earth and heaven) in Laran, appear to have lost this effective superiority as a consequence of the fratricidal war between the lord of Wehali and Likusaen. An original means was devised to retain the allegiance of Wehali's vassals, ~~whose particularity resided in~~ ^{It was} a contrivance to achieve domination by distribution rather than by accumulation, e.g. by depriving the central authority in favour of the subject minor states rather than by appropriating the wealth of the latter for the benefit of the central authority. Among the items given to the hill vassal states was the art of weaving. Wehali, and its immediate neighbours of the plain (Wewiku, Haitimu Lakekun, Suai, Kamanasa, etc.) retained only the undecorated cloth, white for men, black for women. But most remarkable of all, Wehali also surrendered the right of men over women, and of the father over his children, as pledges retaining only the rights of the mother over her children and to a certain extent, that of woman over man.

In other words, the south plain society has given away father-right, a superior right in terms of political efficiency and profane activities, to subordinate states and kept for itself mother-right, an inferior right from this point of view, but a definitely superior right in terms of antecedence of the mother over the child and of primacy achieved through renunciation of the mother toward her child.

Indeed much truth can be attributed to the allegations of native historians that if patriliney is at present relegated to the hill states and matriliney with strict uxorilocality to Wehali society, it is the result of the distribution of various items (political, jural and material), considered all equally as apportionable, which took place after the highly disruptive war with Likusaen changing^{ed} the old order to a considerably extent. Supporting this standpoint is Pigafetta's evidence that the north coast people had no cloth before the Likusaen war and the indication in the story of this war that before it occurred the rules of marriage were neither of the two kinds found today. The contrast between the old order and the new one is exaggerated by the ^{mythical} ~~fabulised~~ picture of Wehali Nain and Rai Lor Nain (the lord of Likusaen) marrying and sharing sexual rights over their common sister, a feature which there is no need to accept at face value. Yet it is a recurrent theme in discussions about custom between native experts that, before a conference of the 'nine countries' at Mantaran Lasiwi (from rai siwi, lands nine) which is said to have been held after the great war of Likusaen to set up the new order, a state of ^{affairs} ~~things~~ prevailed which is referred to as toos la no kladik uma la no kotan, i.e. the gardens had no boundaries, the houses had no partition. This is

particularly meaningful in the light of later discussions where the role of kotan partitions in the house will be shown to be directly related to the regulation of relations in the domestic society between the sexes in general and between kin and affines in particular.

Section III. Myth: Wehali

The southern Tetun of Wehali and the plain of Malaka distinguish (as shown in p.65.) several forms of oral traditions, among them the lia nain, the histories of the lords. They are mainly contrasted to another form of stories, the ai k.an-oi.k lit. piece (of) thinking which is slightly moralizing, rather pleasant and, in contrast to lia nain, is not intended to carry conviction.

The following story has more of ~~a~~ myth than of history, but from a historical point of view, it contains a few hints on the origin of Wehali population.

The Origin of Wehali*

'The Tetun country was beginning to dry up and was still dark. One great ancestor named Bui Kiak¹ and her brother Mau Kiak, Mau-the-only-man, arrived there with two women retainers^{2 3} called Seu Harek and Bui Harek. They had with them a staff-of-rattan-ten-knot-and-one-hundred-span-long and a black dog Asu Suli. They arrived from the great land suspended by the hands from the branches of a floating Ficus named Hali Berlele.⁴ The sea and the breakers⁵ pushed them. They saw a small fire glowing on a hill named Marlilu Haholek.⁶ Thereupon Mau Kiak tacked the floating Ficus and aimed it at this small hill where a fire was glowing. On reaching the shore of the hill Mau Kiak carried up in his arms Bui Kiak and the retainers. Then Mau Kiak put the Ficus upright so that it could take root in the soil. When they reached Marlilu Haholek, they realized that the light and the glow were not from a fire but from the eyes of a "musang" civet cat.⁵ Thereafter Mau Kiak built a small house the ridge of which he did not close. This house was named Uma Rai Lalian, the House of Earth and Heaven. He put Bui Kiak therein, and entrusted the two retainers with looking after her day and night. Bui Kiak was confined to the house but she had no husband. One night she heard a flute being rapped, by an act of God (lit. the Luminous) where there was no ridge-piece. Then Bui Kiak said:⁷ "Who is this?"

* The text of this myth copied by an anonymous school-boy is kept in a threepenny copy-book by Bei Suai (Nahak Usi Bere being his full name) of Mane Kwaik, Suai. It was dictated by his maternal uncle Leki Usi Bere who died shortly after the war. Leki Usi Bere, unlike his successor who merely repeats myths he has been taught, was able, it is said, to give full explanations concerning events and persons related in the myths and had such an accurate knowledge of the customs, of the ritual prohibitions and of the avoidance relationships between individuals and groups that he was able to prevent, or at least to find out, the 'causes' of, all deaths, diseases and mishaps which are the effects of ritual 'errors'. Younger generations who do not have this knowledge resort to omen interpretations and to several modes of divination.

The text with word for word translation is given in Appendix C. Numbers in this translation and in the text refer to notes which directly follow this translation.

The thing replied: "I". Then Bui Kiak said: "If it is you then lower your right foot down to me." The thing let its right foot come down to her and she licked it. The same thing happened every night until Bui Kiak became pregnant. When her child was about to be born she ordered her two retainers to go and fetch water and fire wood. They left and as time went on Bui Kiak gave birth to a child and (being unassisted) the umbilical cord was pulled and it snapped. She shut the child, a girl named Hoar Nai Daholek,⁸ up in a chest.⁹ After doing so, she left it and went into the aforesaid Hali Berlele which closed itself back on her, showing no trace of a gap. Shortly afterwards Bui Harek and Seu Harek came back bringing water and fire-wood, but Bui Kiak was no longer there. Their hearts aching, they went on crying and said: "If you intended to die⁵ you should have waited for us (to accompany you)." They cried day and night when suddenly they heard a noise from the chest. They thought: "We should open it and see if by any chance our Lady has not left her child-with-a-torn-off-umbilical-cord⁵ behind before leaving." Thereupon the two retainers opened the chest and saw the child Hoar Nai Daholek with-its-torn-off-umbilical cord.

Earlier Bui Kiak's brother, Mau Kiak Mau-the-only man, had installed his sister in Uma Rai Lalian and instructed Bui Harek and Seu Harek in these words: "You both look after your Lady because I still have to go with the staff-of-ten-knot-and-one hundred-span-long and the black dog Asu Suli up and down [to measure] the land on the opposite shore."¹⁰ He left Wehali and walked along the sea shore. At night¹¹ he slept at a place which he named Mota Ain, etc.....¹²

Early the next morning as he went further, the black dog Asu Suli caught a cat at a Ficus which Mau Kiak named Hali Busa.....¹³ Then he came back following the mountains. At night he slept at a place which he called Maholok. Early next morning the black dog Asu Suli barked at a "musang" civet cat by a Ficus which he named Halilaku. Since then that country is called Halilaku Maholok,¹⁴ etc.....¹⁵

Finally he went back to Wesei Wehali, but Bui Kiak was no longer there. He asked Bui Harek and Seu Harek "Where is your Lady?" They replied: "She has passed away, we have not seen her (any more)". One day the black dog Asu Suli barked at the Ficus Haliberlele and retrieved Bui Kiak from inside the trunk of the tree. Mau Kiak took her out and installed her again in Uma Rai Lalian.

The Arrival from the Land of Malaka

'The Lord of Malaka came to Wehali together with his subjects. His name was Taek Rai Malaka, his mother was Baba Liu and her child was Bae Liu.¹⁶ Two women retainers, as above, were to look after them. Their names were Bria Nahak and Bria Berek.¹⁷ They came from Malaka following the path of the sun. One night they went on till Fatumea Talama.¹⁸ Turning back they saw a small fire on Marlilu Haholek. Thereupon they thought: "Hey, earth of mother, earth of father,¹ we have gone too far." Then they came back and headed toward the light of the fire at Marlilu Haholek. Once they had arrived there they gathered with the masters of Uma Rai Lalian. One morning when Taek Rai Malaka was on his way to cast his net, Hoar Nai Daholek's mother Bui Kiak suddenly appeared to him. Taek Rai Malaka said: "Hey Wife's mother¹⁶ what do you come for?" Bui Kiak replied: "I come to tell you that when I died²⁰ I left a child-with-a-torn-off-umbilical-cord at Uma Rai Lalian. Did you see her?"²¹ Taek Rai Malaka said: "I did not see her." Then Bui Kiak told him on leaving: "Early tomorrow morning you give order to Bria Nahak and Bria Berek to go to Uma Rai Lalian so that they may ask Bui Harek and Seu Harek." Taek Rai Malaka gave his retainers the order to go to Uma Rai Lalian. When they reached their destination, Bui Harek and Seu Harek greeted them:

"Hey! elder sisters, Bria Nahak, Bria Berek
 What for do you reach us so early in the morning
 What for do you drop on us so early in the morning
 What affair are you going to submit to us?"

Bria Nahak and Bria Berek replied: "E'e, if we had not come we would have run into trouble, but as we come we are again in trouble. We have been sent here by the Lord Taek Rai Malaka who said his wife's mother Bui Kiak on her death has left her child-with-a-torn-off-umbilical-cord at Uma Rai Lalian." Thereupon Bui Harek and Seu Harek replied: "Here she is, if we do not tell the truth we will get into trouble, but if we tell the truth we will also get into trouble. So you both go to our Lord and tell him to come early tomorrow morning and to leave his dogs²² behind. If he complies with this condition he may obtain her, if not²¹ he will not obtain her." Bria Nahak and Bria Berek came back at once and informed Taek Rai Malaka of what they had learned. The day after at daybreak he went and got married to Hoar Nai Daholek. They had been married for

some time already when Taek Rai Malaka went back to his court of Malaka.²³ He went back there to marry another woman of his court of Malaka. He had been away for some time already when Hoar Nai Daholek said "Hai, the Lord Taek Rai Malaka has been away for a long time already and is not yet back." She had already heard rumours that her husband had been back to his court to marry anew. Consequently one morning she ordered Bui Harek and Seu Harek to go there and see. On their return they told Hoar Nai Daholek: "Lady, we met really many people at the court of Malaka, we have heard that our Lord is about to marry another woman from the court of Malaka." On hearing these words Hoar Nai Daholek implored from heaven to be sent ten carriers²⁴ to take her to the court of Malaka. On her arrival there the slaves of that country fled away in all directions on seeing her. She called them back saying: "Do not flee away like this, I have come here to recall your Lord Taek Rai Malaka." Upon which she summoned² her Baba Liu and her Bae Liu to tell them: "If I am not the authentic lady of the court of Nai Daholek no proof will reach you in the next few days. But if it is true that I am the authentic Lady of the court of Nai Daholek one fluttering and flittering⁵ leaf will send its perfume down to the court of Malaka.²⁵ In the next days you will see a prodigy." On these words Hoar Nai Daholek summoned² her husband Taek Rai Malaka and lifted him by her own powers. Then she called her Baba Liu and her Bae Liu and told them: "Baba Liu, Bae Liu, when I shall lather my hair tomorrow morning, the foam of my hair will flow all the way down to Uma Liurai Malaka." Then Baba Liu and Bae Liu attempted to stop the flow with pot lids. It was all gold and silver. Then the ten carriers took them off and came back to Uma Rai Lalian. One morning Hoar Nai Daholek shampooed her hair and the foam gushed from her head down and went up into Uma Liurai Malaka. They contained it with one pot lid: it was all gold and silver. The two married again and gave birth²⁶ to seven children, six boys and one girl. The names of their children are Leki Mataus, Ura Mataus, Saku Mataus, Neno Mataus, Bara Mataus, Neti Mataus, Hoar Mataus or Hoar-who-Protects. The two retainers Bui Harek and Seu Harek were called "the-old-women-gardian-of-the-land" of Basa Debu and Tane Besi, Biti Rai and Taroman, Sona Fahi and A Tebes.²⁷

Leki Mataus went to settle in the land of Likusaen, it is he who is also called Rai Lor Nain;²⁸ Ura Mataus followed him.

Saku Mataus went to Sonbai, Neno Mataus followed him also to the land of Sonbai.²⁹

Bara Mataus maintained the land of Wehali.³⁰

Neti Mataus and Hoar Mataus,³¹ who is also called Hoar, the-lady-who-protects, settled at Uma Rai Laliai in order to look after Wesei and Wehali.³²

Notes on Text and Translation

(Numbers refer to places both in the above translation and in the text which constitutes Appendix C.)

¹Bui is a girl's personal name and a common but polite term of address to women of any age, rank and status. In West Central France up to a couple of generations ago women were commonly addressed as 'Marie' when one did not know their actual first name.

²feto ra, cf. p.66 n.2.

³nain followed by a number is a numerator for human beings. There are only a few other of these terms such as kain for house, tiru (from Portuguese) for gun-shots, daun for necklaces, etc.

⁴Hence the name Wehali for the country. -lele in Berlele has the meaning of floating away, adrift. Ber- is said to be from Bere one of the commonest of men's names. An unidentified bird which is often taken as a symbol of Wehali is Bereliku, or Berliku where Bere is plausibly also a personal name.

Bere is often met in litanies to the ancestors as prefix to ama, father and bei, grandfather. It has not here the value of a personal name and it is difficult to decide if it has an honorary or a purely prosodic function. It is sometimes heard (furthermore) with the sense of perhaps, maybe.

-liku is used to describe the peculiar behaviour of the bird, and means to flutter around or about and may be compared to the root in Liku-saen, a python snake (which coils itself up) and Liku-rai, a dance in undulating spirals.

⁵Tasi no meti, Lakan no der, etc. These words are near synonyms, at least with reference to this story. Poetic art in Tetun requires words and phrases to be duplicated wherever possible and verses to be repeated with only the change of one word into one of its very close synonyms. This is a simple but very effective means of creating rhythm.

⁶Marlilu Haholek, a mythical sacred place on a hill top close to the villages of Kateri and Basadebu. It is no longer visible but it can be met by chance (ksotir possibly from Portuguese: sorte chance, lot, luck). Mar- is from maran, dry, -lilu is the disguised form of lulik. They say that until a recent past the word even in this disguised form was not to be pronounced casually. At the beginning according to various narrators, this island was very small indeed, being described metaphorically as na'an matan, bua klaras, fish eye, areca nut middle-slice.

⁷Hase commonly translated as: to greet, actually means: to speak from the inside of the house to someone outside, often in order to invite, greet or welcome.

⁸Hoar Nai Daholek. The name is rich in contents. Hoar is one of the commonest girls' personal names and is said to have no particular meaning in itself. Yet it is met in the phrase: ai-hoar from ai, wood, and hoar, which means: rubbish, discarded household effects. Although it is not ~~in~~ the habit of the people there to shut up rubbish in containers, the child Hoar of the story is obviously rejected, discarded as an unwanted cause of shame for Bui Kiak her mother.

Nai is the usual word for noble, lord, master, but here, particularly in the further uses of the phrase Nai Daholek (cf. page, 81.), it is doubtful whether this is the real meaning of it. I suggested, without awakening any significant reaction, to Tetun historians that it could be a word similar to the suffix hain, as in Rabasa Hain, a 'kingdom' of Wewiku, or in Karau Besi Hain, Klilit Hain, the ancestors emerged from the swampy Maubesi Weto in another version of the creation [cf. p.65] where hain has no particular meaning either but appears to be a suffix for names of primordial ancestors. The nai of Rabasa for his part is the one who convenes the ritual functionaries in case Uma Rai Lalian, at Laran, Wehali, has to be repaired, rebuilt, or transferred - from Fohohur to Aintasi or vice versa (cf.p. 71.). On such occasions he would sit at the head of the mat, Biti Rai, a position primordially held by a sort of giant, Bei Belera, who had spread out his penis in lieu of a mat.

Daholek is the same as Haholek and is sometimes further disguised as Daholes. H.a-hole.k is a verb which means: to pronounce a prayer with both arms raised above the head. It also means: to go on a wild wax collecting party together with the performance of the corresponding rituals and the singing of appropriate chants to the bees. The bees again are then addressed as Bui. These associations are underlied by a complex symbolism which should not be overlooked, although on a more obvious level, it must be realized that wax, as sandal wood, has been very early a valuable monopolized source of income for the nobles of Wehali where wild bees were, and still are, very abundant. From early times traders were attracted to Timor by these two commodities.

⁹Ai-balun, from ai-, wood and -b.alu.n, half (cf. f.alu, to fold in two). All boxes and trunks are called that name but it is specifically a word for coffins which are still made of a split log, the two halves being hollowed and adjusted to make one bottom and one lid approximately equal. The fact that it is a proper coffin which is meant here will be confirmed later.

¹⁰Tasi mane, cf. p.124 n.1.

¹¹Rai kalan, cf. p.12.

¹²There follows the enumeration of several other places from south west to north east along a stretch of the coast of Suai of about 60 to 80 km. from Maubesi bay.

¹³Some toponyms have a clear meaning as explained here, most others cannot be explained.

¹⁴Halilaku Maholok, is a place in Maukatar. It is a predominantly Buna' speaking district in the hinterland north of Suai (Portuguese territory). The proper pronunciation is Mau gatal in Buna' and it means 'grand-children of Mau', possibly in connection again to the present story.

¹⁵A few other place names follow this on an arc of some 100 km. in the hill country southward to Wehali.

¹⁶Baba Liu, Bae Liu, Liu usually means above, superior, but here 'just their names.' Baba and Bae are not proper names but in fact kinship terms deriving from their future relation to Hoar Nai Daholek (Baban is HM-wife speaking and WM-husband speaking, and Baen is HZ/BW-wife speaking). So also Liu since they are at the origin of the Liurai lineage.

17 Bria Nahak and Bria Berek are two women homologous to Bui Harek and Seu Harek. Bria or Baria is a boy's name in Wehali, and a girl's name in Suai. Wehali informants do not disagree about these names in Suai fashion for the two women retainers of Taek Rai Malaka.

18 Fatumea Talama (Batu Merah on the maps) is a promontory falling into the sea in the Amanatun territory south of the latter's capital village of Noenkolo, i.e. some 40 km south of Maubesi bay following the south coast. Fatu mea lit. rock red, which is an accurate description of it and Talama is a disguised form of Tunu Ama from tunu: to grill or to bake on an open fire and ama: father. Fatumea is not the place where the party from Malaka ran out of food but where they intended at first to settle. In order to start their settlement the father, sometimes called Malae kiak, i.e. the poor or orphan foreigner, offered himself in sacrifice. Various parts of his body provided corresponding seeds and fruits. His hair became sorghum (batar ainaruk), his teeth became maize (batar malae), his body hairs became millet (tora), his small intestine became rice (hare), his large intestine became mungo beans (fore) etc.

19 Ina rain ama rain is not found elsewhere. The translation of land of mother, land of father does not satisfy wholly. Nostalgia from Taek Rai Malaka can hardly be expected to be expressed in such a myth and at this point. An interpretation which was not refuted by informants but which was not met with any particular enthusiasm from their part either is that ina rain ama rain refer to Bui and Mau: mother of ear and father of earth, la'o liu tan, have already walked ahead of us, they have arrived there before us.

20 It is obviously as a kind of ghost that Bui Kiak appears to her daughter's future husband. This only apparently conflicts with the first part of the story where Mau Kiak is said to have recovered Bui Kiak from inside the Ficus and restored her to Uma Rai Lalian. All that it means is that it is her soul which he recovered and restored, setting the pattern of later Wehali houses where ancestors' souls are the main inhabitants, i.e. where the live inhabitants are only second in importance.

21 Lae is the Suai form of lale for 'no'. If in Indonesian Timor lae seems to be an exception, the reverse is true in Portuguese territory where Tetun speakers are more numerous than those west of the international border. Lae-Tetun speakers would say la no, there is not, or there is none;

Lale-Tetun speakers (of the plain of Malaka mostly) say: no hai, or more emphatically, la no hai.

²²Asu etu. Et when followed by hare, rice or batar, corn (maize or millet) means cooked rice, corn, etc. When it is preceded by asu, dog or fahi, pig or by any other animal name, it indicates that the animals belong to a noble.

That the dogs should not be taken along by the suitor explains itself once it is known that some powers are attributed to dogs to detect spirits or witches who assume the form of a familiar woman. Their barking is usually sufficient to cause the evil spirit to flee away. The peculiar nature of Hoar Nai Daholek is sufficiently indicated by the injunction which is made here.

²³Ksadan is only very approximately translated by court. In Wehali a ksadan is actually an empty space in the middle of the village toward the centre of which most houses face. Very often a Ficus grows in the middle of it, and here and there are some graves, usually noticeable by the collapsing of the earth filling or by a stone just placed at its head. In the hill country a ksadan is a more elaborate structure taking the shape of an earth mound, sometimes reinforced with stone walls, and where the flat top of it is fitted with some stones in a circle representing the seats of a noble and of his vassals. This notable difference partly finds its explanation in the fact that in the plain stones are very rare.

²⁴Redimalae is a strange word made of redi for which no explanation could be given to me and malae, foreign. The translation given in Indonesian was djambatan, bridge. The common word for bridge in Tetun is aiklaleten, from ai, wood and -k.la-lete.n, where the root lete means above. Ai klaleten is the term used for go-between in a marriage affair. Why the ten redi, whatever they are, have to be malae, foreign, is impossible to say.

²⁵Tahan morin, the fragrant leaf, by this is meant Hoar Nai Daholek herself. While staying at her place her superior mystical power will irradiate and manifest itself as far as Malaka. In several other myths, the true noble is similarly identified by his or her sweet smell from amongst imposters. Smells, sweet and bad, also have broad implications in everyday life.

That these superior powers are those associated with death is again strongly suggested here and in a few lines above, viz. when the arrival of Hoar among the people of Rai Malaka causes such a fright that they scatter in all

directions. Her appearance was that of a disintombed corpse. Sometimes she is referred to as Hoar Tais At, lit. Hoar cloth bad, Hoar in rags. By way of an explanation given for this name, the question was asked in answer: 'Who would have woven clothes for her?' It is true that she had no mother any longer, but the two women retainers were there for that. It seems more consistent with other details as well as with the spirit of the story that the rags worn by Hoar are actually those into which the cloths of corpses are turned after a certain time in the tomb. Until World War II a mask was worn in Likurai type dances by a man who covered his whole body and limbs with women's clothes in rags. He was meant to represent a dead woman. These dances were apparently rare and informants particularly remembered one which had taken place before the war at Tubaki when neighbouring hill people from Dirma visited the plain for some celebration. One man had donned the accoutrement and mask with the result that the festivities stopped because of the sudden disappearance of spectators. These masks, ^{of which} ~~there were~~ two or three ^{were} ~~of them~~ left in Wehali in 1964, are given woman's names preceded by the term for grandparent or ancestor, e.g. Bei Kolo, Bei Otuk, Bei Seuk. It is said that masks could not be ^{carved} ~~sculpted~~ at any time, but only when there was a **corpse** being watched by in the villages, otherwise the mask would have lacked the peculiar - frightening - aspect of death.

26 Te hola, to give birth, to bring forth, is composed of the verb hola which acts more or less as an auxiliary with not much sense in itself, but mostly of te which means excrement, te bot, te lotuk, large and small intestine te susu, duodenum; matan ten eye excretions; loro ten, Venus, the star which is left behind by the sun. One commonly hears people specify by means of the suffix ten if they mean their own physical parent or child rather than their classificatory ones: ina ten, own mother, ua ten, own child, etc.

27 These pairs of names refer to places which actually exist in the neighbourhood of the village of Kateri, whereas Marlilu Haholek itself is not 'visible in ordinary circumstances'. Cf. n6.

28 In this version the parenthood of Rai Lor nain, Lord of Likusaen is notably different from that given in p.65 with the exception that in both he is situated at the third generation from the beginning.

²⁹Sonbai, cf. fn.1 p.26.

³⁰Bara, lit. to keep in good condition, to maintain and support.

³¹Hoar Mataus is the only daughter and the younger child of the seven. It is on her that the most sacred function is vested. Typically she stays at the central place of Wehali when the elders leave, as will be theoretically the case in the following generations of the Nai Bot, of every younger daughter of the mythology, and actually of every younger daughter of present day Wehali and Suai families.

³²One is readily reminded in this connection of the mirror image given by the myth of Atlantis in Plato's Critias (113-114), in which Poseidon, after taking possession of it, divided 'the island of Atlantis into ten portions, he gave to the first born of the eldest pair his mother's dwelling and the surrounding allotment, which was the largest and the best, and made him king over the rest the others he made princes, and gave them rule over many men and a large territory' [Jowett 1892, III:535].

Many more comments than the preceding foot-notes could be made - a number of them ending with a question mark. Particularly worthy of comment would be such matters as the primordial night and the coming of light, the emergence of the island and its enlargement from the size of a fish-eye to the queer position of the travellers suspended by their hands and the fact that the Ficus was floating upside down with its roots up in the air, the light from the eye of the 'musang' civet cat and the acquisition of the first fish. Many variants are offered on all of these by poems, songs and other forms of literature.

Two main points have to be examined in relation to this myth and most of its variants. The first is its value from a historical point of view and the second is its interest as an ideological support for the existence of the particular social system of Wehali.

1. Historical value

One of the most remarkable features of this myth, which could be called an official version, is that it shows the island emerging from the sea and being populated from outside. Both facts are highly probable. The main theme is that one class of the present lords descend from the first occupiers of the soil and that another descends from a second more recent wave of immigrants. The arrival of Bui and her brother Mau corresponds to the beginning of the island and this original couple is said to have come from a rai bot, a great land, or mainland which is left unspecified.¹

^{To} the second generation - of the myth- Nai Malaka, his kin, his retainers, and his people arrive on Timor from Malacca, and they achieve this by following the sun, i.e. from east to west and indeed they disembark for the first time at Fatumea and looking behind they see the fire on the hill of Marlilu. Previous ethnographers, Grijzen and Vroklage, have recorded traditions of the route followed which enumerate a number of islands of the eastern archipelago including Kai islands, immediately south of the western peninsula of West Irian; thus supporting the view that while travelling eastward from Malacca on their way to Timor (from Malay timur, east), in the last part of their travels they actually followed

¹The closest mainland to the south coast of Timor is Australia ... but as rai bot is nowadays used to refer to Java it seems clear that any speculation on this basis would be hampered by the variability of what is meant by bot, great, at any particular time of the history.

the sun. Can Taek Rai Malaka and his party be credited for having given the name Timor to the island? Grijzen [1904:19] was of this opinion, on the grounds that it was in the Belu Subdivision, or Regency, that the name Timor was best known with the meaning of 'the whole island'; a fact which was no longer noticeable by me after six decades of improved communications and increased awareness of the peoples of Timor of their belonging to one island which is represented under this name on school atlases. It is also most likely that the name has rather been given by traders from Malacca as early as in the couple of centuries which preceded its conquest by the Portuguese.

Although I have not been told by any historian of Malaka (Timor) of the successive stops of the immigrants, they were all quite definite that it was from 'far in the west' whence these had come. It must be noted at this point that both Grijzen [ibid.] and Vroklage [1952, II:148-153] recorded the lists of island names from north coast and hill informants, not from the south plain of Malaka. This may be explained as due to either the latter having forgotten the names or the former having added the names as they heard them mentioned by traders. The immigrating party of Taek Rai Malaka is said in the version of Grijzen [id. .:18] to have been composed of four tribes: hutun rai hat, lit. people land four, for which no support is found in what survives to date of the traditions in Malaka (Timor).

etym. ?

Malaka tuan, the old Malaka, is the famous trade port of the south west coast of the Malay peninsula, and Malaka foun, the new Malaka, is our south plain of middle Timor. What are then the supporting evidence for the veracity of the Malay origin theory? In all they are only strong probabilities.

The earliest known navigator who went to the eastern archipelago, Francisco Rodrigues [Hakluyt Society, no. 89] himself left Malacca in November 1511 for the Banda sea, using the monsoon, as had been done regularly by Malay traders before him. Tome' Pires who collected a wealth of information in his Suma Oriental [ibid.] from people like Francisco Rodrigues, says:

They leave Malacca in the monsoon and on their way to Banda; they say that on this route there are reefs between the lands of Bima [Sumbawa] and Solor and that the junks are lost unless they go through the channel and there is a risk for about half a league, and that it is good to enter by day. [Id.: 204]

This implies that even as late as the sixteenth century, the safest route was that leading to Banda first in the west monsoon and from there southward along the string of the south east islands (Manuk, Serua, Nila, Teun, Damar, Leti) using the reversed monsoon winds to reach Timor along its southern coastline.

The examination of the physical types of middle Timor has been carried out by Vroklage on more than one thousand individuals in Belu during his field trip of 1937. The results published by Barge [ANM 1942 and 1943-45]. Vroklage had intelligently taken measurements in three regions of middle Timor. One of them was Wehali of which he at once recognized the individuality. The two others were Lasiolat, the main political centre (with Bauho) of Fialaran, just north of Mount Lakan, and Naitimu, also a hill state situated about half way between the two coasts

The general impression, already obtained by first glance observation, is that the hill people are tougher, rougher and coarser than the south coast Wehali and Wewiki people who are credited all over the island for their fineness of type as well as their refinement, their

elegance of manners and speech. A very extensive and accurate analysis of Vroklage's material, made by Barge, did not allow the latter to make definite conclusions as to the probable composition of the 'Belu' people [1942: 356]. But the evident reason for this moderation is that investigations of Vroklage's standard on the physical anthropology of the other south east Asian peoples are greatly lacking. If no conclusion can be ventured on the basis of absolute figures, one can attempt at least a comparison in relative terms of these three groups [cf. table on page 93] by compiling and collating about thirty of Barge's detailed tables.

Here the somatological individuality of Wehali people appears clearly in opposition to both Naitimu and Lasiolat, the latter showing the most striking difference to the first. Both, on either end of the scale, present very harmonious and homogeneous features. Wehali has the most round-headed, small in stature, light-pigmented, straight-haired and glabrous population whereas in contrast Lasiolat has the most of long and narrow-headed, tall in stature, dark eyed and dark frizzy haired and hairy people. In contrast to the latter, and to Naitimu, selected by Vroklage as relatively pure samples, Wehali stands as conforming most to the Proto-Malayan stock, i.e. in broad terms the earliest layer of Southern Mongolians in the Indonesian Archipelago. As such Wehali, and generally the coastal Malaka people, who are the only representatives of this physical type in the eastern islands of the archipelago where the people are predominantly Melanesoid, would have one more reason for considering themselves as immigrants from the western and north-western population stocks.

anaas daarom P.
malaka ?? = ca 1400 ?!

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PHYSICAL TYPES
of WEHALI People with two other Middle Timor Hill Groups (1)

	HEAD		INDEX CEPHALICUS	BODY LENGTH	PIGMENTATION		HAIR FORM	HIRSUTENESS	
	LENGTH	BREADTH			SKIN	EYE		HAIR	BODY HAIR
WEHALI	+ short	+ broad	+ brachycephalic	+ SMALL	+ LIGHT		+ LISSO- TRICH (3)	+ MEDIUM AND STRONG (4)	+ absent to weak + MEDIUM
	+ MEDIUM	+ MEDIUM	+ mesocephalic	+ medium	- DARK		- ULO- TRICH	- strong	+ MEDIUM - STRONG
	- LONG	- narrow	- dolichocephalic	- TALL	- very dark				
NAITIMU	+ short	+ broad	+ brachycephalic	- SMALL	- LIGHT	+ LIGHT	- LISSO- TRICH	+ medium and strong	- absent to weak
	- MEDIUM	- narrow	+ mesocephalic	+ medium	+ DARK		+ CYMATO- TRICH	- strong	
			- dolichocephalic		+ VERY DARK				
LASIOLAI	- SHORT	- BROAD	- BRACHYCEPHALIC	- medium			- CYMATO- TRICH	+ medium and strong	- MEDIUM
		- MEDIUM	- mesocephalic				+ ULO- TRICH	+ STRONG	+ STRONG
	+ LONG	+ NARROW	+ DOLICHOCEPHALIC	+ TALL	- very dark (2) (3)	+ DARK			

CAPITALS indicate that the character is found in both
men and women

lower-case letters indicate that the character is found in either
men or women

+ : most

- : fewest

- (1) Compiled from tables in Vroklage and
Barge 1942, I; 1943-45, II-IV.
(2) Very slight differences between the
three groups.

(3) Only general statement on sex
differentiation with reference to
locality.

(4) Tables only show two categories : '%
medium and strong growth together and
'% strong growth alone'.

In his survey of the 'Peoples and Languages of Timor A. Capell [1944, I-III] finds it essential to distinguish between Indonesian (western Timor and Tetun) languages and non-Indonesian languages including most of those in eastern Timor and Buna' which 'belong to that group which is vaguely called "Papuan"' [Capell 1944, I:195], and he points out that in the Timorese Indonesian languages such as Tetun 'the Indonesian element...is comparatively small and these languages belong to the "eastern" section of the Indonesian groups which is practically Melanesian in structure' [Id. .:194]. Although it is true, as Capell shows, that there are broad differences between Malay, as we know it now and even as found in its classical form, and Tetun, it seems that Capell has been influenced in his judgement on the language by accounts that consider somatologically the Timorese as a whole, and mostly from the north coast, i.e. the 'hill' people. He quotes there [Id. .:195] Bijlmer as saying that:

'if one wanted to distinguish in the Dutch East Indies only Malay and Papuans, or Indonesians and Melanesians, one would have to place the boundary between these two races undoubtedly between Sumba and Timor and the latter would then fall on the Melanesian side. The appearance of the Belunese ...is indisputably affected by their narrow-headedness, [etc.]' and further that 'in Timor and Flores, one feels that one is absolutely no longer among Malays', [Bijlmer 1929:91]

which is true again with the exception, as Vroklage's material prove, of the Malaka plain people. If on the contrary one considers the Tetun language in itself without linking it in imagination with those of its speakers who are frizzy-haired, dark-skinned and dolichocephalic, it does not appear so melanesoid. This view, however, would not affect the drawing of a broad demarcation line between Indonesian and Melanesian

linguistic areas by which Sumba and Timor are separated, Timor falling in the Melanesian area [Capell 1944, III:20]. ~~All~~ loaded ^{through} ~~as~~ it is with an important eastern lexical fund - and a mere comparison of Tetun with a Wetar word list [J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong 1947: 111-41] shows the high percentage of words the two languages have in common - Tetun is still an Indonesian language. If ^{it had been} better known it could have undoubtedly been added by Otto Dahl in his 1951 work ~~besides~~ ^{to} Maanjan and the range of such languages as Tagalog, Old Javanese, Batak etc. which he used for comparison with Malagasy. Dahl showed that among these languages, one of them, Maanjan, spoken by a Bornean people west of the Barito River, is that which has the closest affinities with and followed the most similar line of development to Malagasy, the language of Madagascar. On these grounds, Dahl propounded that at least the first of the Indonesian migrations to Madagascar, around the fourth century A.D., came from some place in Borneo, instead of from Sumatra as it had been hitherto supported (mainly by G. Ferrand 1909: 318 and several articles). His linguistic evidence is backed up by some valuable historic hints suggested by accounts of early Arab geographers. But I would rather maintain that Maanjan is just one of the most suitable languages / ~~among others~~ for the building of such a theory, and being so suitable, its choice narrows the historical implications to a too special Bornean origin of the Malagasy and ^{at the extreme limit} ~~in the end~~ of the numerous peoples who show so striking linguistic and cultural affinities between one another. It would be more economical, in this chapter of hypotheses, to assume that at an early date ^{during} ~~of~~ the first centuries of our era an Original Indonesian (Dempwolff's 'Urindonesische') speaking people keen on seafaring and discoveries dispersed from a

centre which it is not really incumbent on me to determine but which may be suggested to be Malacca. Some of these settled at Madagascar (from its west coast, cf. Dahl 1951: 365), and however small their numbers were they imposed their language on an earlier or ^{contemporaneous} ~~simultaneous~~ Bantu majority in this large island. Some others arrived on the south coast of Timor and similarly imposed their language and their politico-religious system on a section of the Melanesoid substratum.

It is not really necessary nowadays to show the Indonesian origin of a large share of the Malagasy population, that of the central highlands or plateau of Imerina. But the paralleling of these with Malacca has not received attention although Luis Mariano, a Portuguese priest travelling in Madagascar in 1613-14 had written:

'Some of the first inhabitants of the island of Saint-Laurence [Madagascar] have come from Malacca and the others from the land of Kaffirs' [Grandidier 1904:6] and further Father Mariano is quoted as saying 'at a short distance from the [west] coast, as well as in the whole of the island's interior and the rest of the coasts only the buki [=Madagascar in Swahili] language is spoken, it is peculiar to the indigenous and is completely different from the Kaffir language, but it is very similar to Malay, which proves almost surely that the first inhabitants came from the ports of Malacca' [Id. .:21-2].

The accounts of this particular traveller are generally considered as reliable. I point out from the above quotation the plural he uses for ports. Mariano may unfortunately have just made an error, or it can be pointed out that his reference to Malacca is fairly late, one century after Dalboquerque, Pires, Barbosa, but if credited as a fact it fits the conclusions of Ferrand's 'Malaka, le Malāyu et Malāyur' [1918, II:111-5; 120-5] and those of H. Kern which Ferrand quotes [ibid]. It shows that Malacca was in fact

more than one port. It was a state or a combination of states bearing the name Malaka/Malacca and covering a large portion of the South East Asian mainland and discovering many places of the Archipelago. This is not too venturesome a speculation, but what is more so is the equation which I would propose to establish between Malaka, the peninsula, Malagasy and Madagascar¹ and Malaka of Middle Timor.

There is more than one cultural item which points to greater similarities between the above three than between others in South East Asia. Two prominent items, among many others which would have to be listed and examined in detail to prove the point, are the loose xylophone on thighs [cf. Sachs 1938:62, 75], and the 'mad-weave' basket making [Lamster 1926:283] also called 'three directional' or 'hexagonal' weaving.

Restricted to the coming from Malaka (the peninsula) of the broader section of the present population of Malaka (Timor), the hypothesis is probably more acceptable for the time being, and what is more important, it is not a matter for doubt for Wehali people. In their sacred houses of Uma Rai Lalian, were preserved in the past several sacred objects which Taek Rai Malaka's party were said to have taken with them to Timor.

These, according to my informants, consisted of seven ivory caskets which contained gold and silver arm-rings, breast-plates and finger-rings, gold horse head fittings, stirrups and spurs, gold plates, fighting cock gold spurs and gold grindstones. One of the caskets contained earth

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A recent attempt of elucidation of the name [Deschamps 1961:59, 63-4] does not really support nor contradict this

brought along from Malacca. In addition, several regalia such as a golden umbrella, a golden staff, a golden hat, a small gun, the spear of Maromak, a drum and a gong were also kept in the house. These were stolen in 1947.¹ I visited and inventoried this Uma Rai Lalian, also called Uma Maromak, at the capital village of Laran in Wehali. Apart from guns, gongs, drums and a spear, nothing much remarkable was left except for an umbrella of European manufacture, and a wooden box showing traces of inlay and containing some dirt and dust from old cotton cloth.²

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The seven burglars, I was told, were arrested and released after a while, but all of them died unexplicable deaths within a few years. A Public Prosecutor's office clerk of Atambua could not find the file any more, and concluded that it might have been forwarded to Kupang. No prosecution was actually ^{made} ~~engaged into~~ for want of evidence; the preliminary enquiry was apparently never completed.

2

Mr. A.A. Bere-Tallo ^{when} told of my finds and of my disappointment claimed that all these were fakes and that the earth from Malacca which he had seen when Vroklage visited the sacred house was in fact gold dust in such quantity that the ivory container could not be lifted by a single man. On my request Father J. Buijs, Rector of St. Franciscus Xaverius Mission House, Teteringen, Holland, went through Vroklage's field notes and on 18 March 1965 he communicated to me a list of what the ethnographer, assisted by Mr. A.A. Bere-Tallo, had recorded there: 'Laleo laro mean (europese? paraplu? goud OE mean (staf gouden), taka oeloe mean (deksel hoofd goude gelang dan tjintjin mas /Malay/ (armband en ring gouden), meriam ketjil /Malay/ (kleine kanonne?), tombok /Malay/ maromak (lans van maromak), baba to Wehali (kleine trommel tala wehali (gong van Wehali))', which means: umbrella with gold embroidery, golden staff, golden hat, golden arm and finger rings, small guns, God's spear, Wehali's drum, Wehali gong. It seems from the number of question marks in the Dutch Father's notes, that he had not always been convinced that the objects actually corresponded to what could be expected from the names given for them.

A last piece of evidence - but still of a relative value - has only recently disappeared. It consisted of a thick grove of bucket-bamboo which covered, at a few hundred yards from the original village of Betun, the left (North-East) bank of Mota Maromak, the river which starts under Uma Rai Lalian (Uma Maromak) at Laran and ends in Maubesi Weto sound. Au betun is the name of bucket-bamboo a large sectioned bamboo. The grove was according to common beliefs, made of the planted components of the raft which Taek Rai Malaka had used. In 1946-47, Father W. Wortelboer undertook the building of his new church closer to Laran and Betun than the pre-war church destroyed by bombings at Tubaki. He selected a place close to the grove for the church and gradually expanded at the expense of the bamboo for the building of schools, boarding houses, workshops, etc. Several ominous events (a Friar's alleged sudden madness, some school children's diarrhoea, etc.!) did not stop the clearing of the bamboo grove. This was the only place where such species of bamboo occurred in the plain which is to the people ~~the~~ undoubtable evidence that they had to be planted to come to existence here. It may well mean in fact that this bamboo, being so restricted, was not actually native to the south plain.

2. Ideological Value

It is strange to find in Tomé Pires's account a reference to matriliney. The 'Celates', i.e. the people of the sělat, Malay for straits, who had accompanied the fugitive Palembang prince Paramjçura (/Permiswara/Permaisuri) in his flight and had helped him settle in the plain of Bretão (/Bintân/Bjetao) asked for some 'gift of honour' in reward,

on which petition the said Paramjçura made them mandarins - which means nobles - both them and their sons and wives for ever. Hence it is that

all the mandarins of Malacca are descended from these, and the kings are descended through the female side, according to what is said in the country.¹ /Pires 1944,II:235/

But this particularity cannot ^{support} serve the indigenous theory of Wehali and of the south plain of Malaka on the origin and the raison d'être of the matrilineal system of descent, as the system is not so uncommon in the total culture area.

Three times in the first three generations the pattern of descent system and of political organisation is set for the future generations to follow. Bui and Mau, the original sibling couple, constitute the cell of a house. Significantly, the brother, Mau, moves out of the house to let his sister's husband in and to attend his own affairs for the benefit of the natal house, and he retains responsibility toward his sister and her offspring. The sister, on the other hand, stays in the house where she receives her husband (whoever he might be), begets a child and is looked after by her brother whom she is morally answerable to.

At the second generation, things happen in a more earthly way. A husband from outside marries the daughter of the house, Hoar, by coming to her place and staying there - at least before and after his escapade and failure to marry within his own ^{group} party. In this incident, Taek Rai Malaka as husband submits to his wife whose superiority is expressed in several supernatural ways.

At the third generation, when a complete hold on the whole land was gained, pairs of brothers went east and

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The last sentence: 'domde ficarom asy q̂ todos os mamdaris de malaca vem destes E os Rex das partes de suas mais seg^o na terra se afirma'. (My italics.)

west, while three siblings stayed in Wehali. One brother was a guardian, Bara Mataus, and the last couple of siblings, Neti Mataus (a man) and Hoar Mataus (a woman) occupied Uma Rai Lalian. The lot of Neti Mataus was to become Liurai and that of Hoar to become Maromak Oan. Theoretically, complete hold of Timor was achieved then, but the evidence, or rather the lack of evidence, that Wehali ever had been a centralised state which succeeded in effectively controlling the island, shows that this familial arrangement is more an ~~after the event~~ construction, an ideological foundation for a political system which was not in fact so much concerned with actual government as with ritual dominance over the island.

Even the more skillful among the informants are at pains to trace the genealogy of any of the two principal positions (Liurai and Nai Bot) back to the grand children of Bui without gross telescoping. There are two main reasons for this. The first is that Hoar Mataus, who every day successively passed through infancy in the morning, womanhood at midday, and old age in the evening, did not marry and that Neti Mataus, as a result of a broken engagement and of an affront made to a princess of the sea, had to flee from the country. Wehali had consequently to have these positions filled by replacement of lesser origin.

The second reason, ^{which} ~~is~~ that the South Plain people, ~~and this~~ is a direct consequence of the emphasis put on the 'house' as a building and as an institution, ~~are~~ are not genealogy-minded. The northern region peoples keep an accurate count of the generations - at least five for the commoners - of average span compatible with datable historical events. In Wehali a count of five generations back ~~reaches~~ ^{reaches} easily to mythical heroes, and only two or

three more are needed to reach the times when earth and heaven were close enough to one another to allow intercourse to take place between heavenly and earthly beings. Among the hill people, particularly the Buna', lists of the noble ancestors reach several dozens of names assumed to be in a single line of descent, and these lists are recited in public on every important occasion, such as the installation of a new nai, the rebuilding of a noble house, etc. In Wehali nothing makes this necessary. By resorting to several means (adoption, borrowing, 'mata musan' exchange of children, etc.), there are always women in a house, consequently there are always men, their sons or brothers, to be committed to an official or ritual position. Legitimacy is not primarily and exclusively reckoned here in terms of blood purity, but rather of de facto occupancy of the noble house concerned. It is most probably since the arrival of the Dutch and the extension of their indirect administration to the south plain in the first decade of this century that the people have developed a reluctant interest in tracing lines of descent. This again has been a result of the effort made by the Dutch in their attempt to push a 'legitimate ruler' up for the south plain and later for the whole Belu subdivision/regency. I would not maintain that in a matrilineal society ~~the~~ genealogies are inconsiderable, but in the south plain of Malaka they are much less relevant than is the case among the patrilineal hill-people. Paralleling the two is instructive. Large assemblies are necessary in the hills to solve a difficult succession. Makoan, or historians, of each rival house have to give the fullest possible account of the foundation of their claim, usually as far back as na'an matan bua klaras, i.e. the very beginning of the land, when its size was that of 'a fish eye, a slice of areca nut'. In the south plain, I have not witnessed the installation of a new noble, of a nai, ^{for} none ~~have~~ died during my stay, but I did witness that

of a fukun, or lineage head, of some ritual importance, and this was described as the standard procedure for all nai as well, up to the Nai bot or Maromak oan. In that case, the ritual officers of Laran and the nai of the whole of Malaka would gather and a diviner would be invited to carry out his performance and choose a success among a wide range of candidates from the defunct or retired nai's brothers, sister's sons, mother's sister's sons, mother's sister's daughter's sons, and any man of any house of similar status ('feminine' or 'masculine' according to the position to be filled) or else from an altogether different nai lineage, even from a different place. Nobles from Insana, a Dawan-speaking district, have been known in the past to have been designated in this way as Nai bot. The present Nai bot himself originates from Haitimuk, a small nai-kingdom, west of the River Benenai. Haitimuk, the nai of which is a Loro, one of the four Loro of Malaka, has precisely the duty of providing Wehali with scions, fini Wehali, lit. seed(s for) Wehali.

~~In~~ ^b The distribution of Wehali's children over the newly emerged regions of Timor at the third mythical generation could be considered as the setting of the pattern of political dominance over the subdued states.¹

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 These were most likely pre-existent in some form or another. The expression used in comments over this process is sia ba rodi kaer rai, lit. they go act (with intention) hold earth. To hold, to get hold or to grasp earth meant also, in the minds of the informants, to hold people together, since even in these myths dealing with migration and the establishment of migrants as rulers, the earth is not said to be unpopulated. There is always the assumption that people go together with earth, only these autochtones are fuk, savage, wild, i.e. they have no nai, at least no nai of the standard of the immigrants.

On the other hand, in the events of the first two generations the main rules of marriage and inheritance are indicated and also an idea is given of the high status of the lady of the house, of her authoritarian attitude and of the power - of a mystical nature - which she enjoys. Bui, Hoar Nai Daholek and Hoar Makbalin are women who are not controlled by men and who have a very important right, that of staying in their own house, a right which goes together with that of retaining the ultimate control over wealth and property.

The sending away of the first two pairs of Mataus brothers and the fact that it was the sister who stayed and kept the sacred house while Neti became Liurai of the median area of Timor and Bara was entrusted to 'maintain' Wehali, shows a separation of ~~the~~ powers along the line of the distinction of the sexes which entails a much wider division than one between male and female elements of the population. It follows therefore that it is the three Liurai, East, West and Malaka for Middle Timor, who take with them the 'right of men' while Wehali and the south plain of Malaka keep the 'right of women'.

The distribution and division of roles is summed up in an adage which says mola isin e mela knuan, lit. you take contents, you leave sheathing. Isin, contents, has normal meanings of body, flesh, substance, but here that of blade of the sabre; knuan has the meaning here of sheath, scabbard, and otherwise also that of seat of Wehali 'government'.¹ The adage suggests a very concrete representation of the male and female roles, that by taking away the isin, the sons of Hoar Nai Daholek and brothers of Hoar Makbalin take the substance from Wehali, as well as

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A near synonym of ksadan.

all that counts for a man, powers, rights, the ability to lead some sort of independant^e or autonomous life in governing the household, the village, the state, in marry women whom they attract to their house in order to obtain children from them, in gathering wealth and social consideration by whatever means and transmitting these with their names to the children they have begotten and raised. In other words it is a matter of being able to act over the environment and to obtain the benefits of this action, an action of a transcendant, but not necessarily superior, character.

On the other hand, Wehali is left with knuan, the sheath, the envelope which by definition is empty, but although sheath and blade are clearly just complementary, the sheath is here viewed, due to a wealth of symbolic associations, as original or at least prior to, and preeminent in respect of, the contents. To it is attached the character of incommutability principally regarding the marriage residential rules. By a fiction made into a system it is regarded that the immanent character of Wehali, and women and sheathing, entails a superiority of some kind over the alternate isin.

It would be vain to attempt to determine more precisely which stage of the history of Wehali is represented by the third generation of Wehali lords. It is likely that Wehali policy of distribution has had a long extension in time. To determine in which order the various rights and regalia were distributed would also necessitate a lengthy and not very rewarding analysis of many obscure myths and poems.

It is not only regalia in the form of precious or sacred objects, wristlets, anklets, spears, sabres which

were given away to male vassals¹ as tokens of their bond of vassalage to Wehali and of their authentic Wehali origin ^{which is the} base of their claim over the lands where they were sent to rule, but also various activities and rights to practise them are similarly considered as masculine concerns. They are included in the broad category of makerek no bedaen. Bedaen has the general meaning of craftman, craftsmanship, the immediate cause which brings about some effect. The meaning of makerek is considerably wider and less easily definable. The stem kere is scarcely used in this form and it is not a word which can easily be explained or incorporated in examples by the informants. I overheard it once when youths were sitting around a heap of paddy ears, singing monotonously while threshing rhythmically. One of them shouted 'Kere!' to enliven and accelerate the beat and to invite someone to improvise some verses or vocalize on the theme in some more original way. M.a-kere is the quality of the songs of the hill country. There the allusions made toward the female members of the choir are more precise, the vocalizing is less rigorously prescribed by the traditional theme, man and woman in the hills seem to emulate in chromatic prowess. Their tunes are also more adapted to this whereas the songs in the plain, which on the contrary are more rigorously set by tradition, only lend themselves to limited vocal achievements: unison, canon and deepness of voice only. Makerek is also the attribute of artefacts which are

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Some of the objects kept for Wehali in Uma Rai Lalian at Laran do not quite fit into the category of female objects e.g. the spear of Maromak and the umbrella, but the guns, despite their small size, are really cannons, and are called in Tetun kilat inan, lit. gun mother.

decorated, embellished with any sort of intricate and skillful work such as woodcarving of the side posts, lintels and pannels of doors, house posts, carved and engraved horn and coconut spoons, statues etc. To draw, hence to write, is h.a-kere.k. Makerek again refers to the ability to ~~wear~~^{alter} down public opinion by ^{the} art of ^{speaking} speech, ~~that of~~^{to} getting involved in the intricacies of an argument and winning it by shrewdness and unctuousness, not excluding however straight proficiency.

Thus defined the category of makerek no bedaen includes most of man's activities, and as such it has been given away by Wehali together with the 'rights of man' to its princes who went to rule over the vassal states. Wehali, according to the native philosophy of history, kept nothing but the 'rights of woman' and whatever falls clearly in the feminine realm under the local sexual ~~repartition~~^{distribution} of tasks.

In conformity with the general principle of allotment of rights, male occupations such as blacksmithery are the privilege of the male region, the hills, whereas pottery, a female occupation, is exclusively found in the female-connotated plains region. Indeed while there is even at present time practically no blacksmith (bedaen besi) and no iron work done in the plain, the art of pottery is ~~only~~^{only} practised in the plain. These specializations, which are in no way ~~warranted~~^{determined} by local circumstances, give rise to an exchange of the products of the two industries. Baked clay pots and vases are offered on the various markets of the plain to hill people (Tetun speakers as well as the nearby Dawan-speakers) in exchange for knives, bush-knives and weeding-blades whose skill and right of manufacturing the plain people have surrendered.

There are two corrections to be made to this picture of the application of ^{the} division of labour in terms of the sexual connotation of the various activities concerned.

The first is that one house in Wehali (in the hamlet of Loolatar near Tabene) can work ~~on~~ ⁱⁿ iron, as well as another house in Kamanasa (which is now situated in Wehali but was formerly in the plain of Suai). Both these houses are known as Uma Bedaen, house of craftsmen. They are sacred houses, not lineage houses or fukun (clan) houses, and they belong to the category of the war medicine houses (uma kakaluk).¹ At the ~~most~~, about a dozen men in each house have the capacity to beat hot iron ^{into} ~~to~~ shape, but they have a very limited skill, as this capacity is more ritual than technical. A few tools are kept in the house, an anvil, flexible hafted hammers, double cylinder bellows, but the more important function of this confraternity house is one which it has in common with the war medicine houses, and it becomes manifest at the annual ceremonies

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These are found in almost all villages and have local branches affiliated to one another by their names, their common war spells or war calls and war medical formulae. Men belong to either one or several of these houses to form war confraternities. Succession to the ritual functions involved in the service of these houses is from MB to ZS, except when, in the absence of any candidate, a substitute has to be designated by oracle. Membership of one or another confraternity is seen as optional. It is normal, however, for a youth who has been working his own patch of garden for the first time to enter the kakaluk of his natal local group at the time of his first harvest and ~~to~~ also become a member of the kakaluk which prevails in his conjugal local group when the newly married man reaps the first harvest of the garden which he has been allotted by his in-laws. In addition one can belong to one or two other uma kakaluk from personal choice or in compliance with an injunction of one's ancestors received through dreaming.

of the first fruits of maize. The prophylactic rituals thus carried out in Uma Bedaen and in Uma Kakaluk have an identical basic pattern. Men bring there a stipulated number of young maize cobs which they ^{eat together ceremonially} ~~eat ceremoniously~~ in common to 'cool down' the dangerous potency of the fresh maize before anyone can bring any product of the season from the gardens into their respective houses. The first maize also revives or reawakens the powers of the medicines and through anointment of these, of the maize and of ~~the~~ specially kept water (we fohon, the top of the water), each member regains immunity against all the dangers he might face during the coming year (falls from horses and trees, thunderstrokes, etc.).

In the plain, therefore, blacksmithery is more a ceremonial than a technical activity, attached to a certain type of sacred house (I have waited in vain for several months to see the double cylinder and piston bellows used but this was impossible because of bad omens). On the other hand the beating of iron in the hill region takes place whenever necessary or for profit by anyone who is able to wield a hammer properly. As far as I know it does not involve any particular ritual performance in this setting. The impression that blacksmithery is undertaken as a predominantly ritual activity in the feminine region of the plain is reinforced by the fact that the two Uma Bedaen are said to belong to the Lawalu clan. Brief mention concerning this noble house of masculine functionaries attached to the service of Liurai has already been made. Although the internal organization of this very fragmented clan, the links between whose branches are extremely difficult to establish, is not different from that of the other fukun of the plain, i.e. composed of matrilineal lineages, Lawalu are considered as noble

functionaries associated to the male element (Liurai) of the diarchy. This provides a justification for the existence of blacksmitheries under their name in the plain where this and other aspects of male craftsmanship are formally prohibited.

The second reservation in relation to the sexual dichotomy outlined earlier as regards the plain and hills areas concerns pottery, a feminine occupation which is only practised in the plain, but not in any village of Wehali proper. One fukun only of the village of Kamanasa and the village of Lakulo, which is divided among three separate settlements on the right bank of the River Benenai (a total of 400 to 500 people at most), are qualified to work the clay (halo rai, to make or manipulate earth). It is noteworthy, but not really surprising, that Wehali has not a single pot-making community. Although done by women exclusively, pottery is a craft and even an art, consequently it belongs to the category of makerek no bedaen, and as such it had to be surrendered by Wehali to one or ^{other} ~~either~~ of the peripheral states, but within the rai fetu (land woman) zone and not as far as the male vassal states of the hills (rai mane).

The art of weaving¹, like pot-making, is constrained by a distinction which renders the category of feminine occupation not as clear-cut as would seem at first. Just as pottery is a feminine craft (bedaen), so also weaving is a feminine art (makerek). A distinction has to be made to understand the apparent greater development of weaving in the hills than in the plain when it is likely, starting with Pigafetta's observations, that weaving and mostly

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Cf. supra on Pigafetta's evidence, p.72.

ikat-dyeing was elaborated in the south plain of Belu and transmitted to the hill countries where no clothes were ever worn by the people. Thus it is only the makerek aspect of the total phenomenon of weaving which has been pledged to the male vassal states of Wehali. The resulting situation is that among the hill people men and women wear handsome ~~by~~ ikat-dyed material displaying harmonious and extremely tasteful arrangements of patterns and colours for every day use, while in the plain, men and women have only natural cotton white and plain indigo black cloth for every day wear. Wehali and Suai people however do weave and wear ikat-dyed material, but to be worn only on exceptional festive occasions. Although they can make these themselves it is manifest that they do not master the art of vegetable dyeing as well as their hill neighbours. They almost exclusively use chemical dyes or ready dyed trade yarn, with the result that due to the crude and harsh colours of aniline their cloths have neither the authentic aspect nor the durability of those made in Kusa, Dirma and Mandeu for instance.

Pieces of white cotton cloth were often preserved in some sacred houses which I had the opportunity to visit. These were revered as relics of former Liurai or other noblemen. To my surprise at the unimpressive appearance of these relics, the informants would commonly explain: 'we have given everything away, only white cloth is left'. They did not mean by this, however, that the relics had been shared, but that even their honourable noble ancestors ~~were submitted to the same lot as the rest of the people,~~ lived under the same conditions despite their high rank and did not themselves wear anything else than white cloth.

In the light of the evidence given so far, there already appears to be some support for the native theory

that it was a matter of policy for Wehali to divide its attributes and privileges between itself and its vassals according to the male-female connotations characterizing such attributes.

For reasons which remain to be clarified, the model relationships on which Wehali's supremacy has been based are the mother-son and brother-sister relationships. In both basic relationships it is the man who is dependant on the former and relies on the woman as the focus and ultimate source of power, but as this arrangement serves as a constitutional principle for the establishment of a Great Timor empire under the hegemony of Wehali, the female emphasis in the ideal balance of powers is on Wehali and its immediate neighbours (Wewiku, Suai, etc.). Consequently the region of our interest, the seat of central authority, bears the mark of immanence, fixity, inertia in the physical world, and correlatively is attributed with great powers in the mystical world which is assumed to be the weird field of action of woman.

The three women of the first three generations in the 'official' Wehali myth¹ show, apart from qualities which are generally displayed by mythical heroes, remarkable features. Two die and typify Wehali though dead, while the third by her daily action of the human drama indicates the way of the mortals. But it is in Bui Kiak and Hoar Nai Daholek mostly that Wehali finds its prototypes. As spouses and mothers both are dead or participate of death, while Hoar Makbalin (Mataus)², the third woman, seems to be in an altogether different

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Cf. supra pp.78-82.

2

Cf. supra p.101.

category, being neither dead nor a spouse nor mother. In Bui Kiak and her daughter Hoar, the association of womanhood to death is well established. On the basis of this association, which is not special to Wehali but which received here a more immediate application than in, say Pythagorean or Orphic speculations, Wehali is constituted as a politico-religious centre of the Timorese cosmos. Just as the mother has ascendancy over the son, the sister over the brother, the container over the contents,¹ and death over life, so also Wehali, governed by the maternal principle, prevails over its vassal states which, for their part, are governed by the paternal principle.

¹Symbolized as the sheath and the sabre (knuan no isin).

APPENDIX A

The material gathered in this appendix, and in the following one concerning the administrative organization and its frequent changes, comes from various Dutch publications, mostly from periodicals such as 'De Indische Gids', 'Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsche Aardrijkskundigen Genootschap', 'Koloniaal Verslag', 'Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde', etc. by authors such as Zondervan, Hogendorp, van Dijk, de Roo van Alderwerelt, Grijzen, Bruynis and others (cf. Bibliography). An important source would have been the 'Memories van overgave' or general accounts made by the Dutch commissioners on passing over to their successors, thus every two to three years. Duplicates of a very few of these can be consulted at Kupang, the majority of these reports are considered as lost. An important part of the material used has been obtained from an unpublished 'Monografie van de Oost-Indische Archipel' made in 1957 by the present Regent (Bupati) of the Belu 2nd level zone, A.A. Bere-Tallo, and from his address to a Congress of Students of the Eastern Lesser Sunda Islands held at Kupang on 15th July 1957.

Mr. Bere-Tallo has a keen interest in the history and the customs of this region. When aged 17 and ~~then~~ a brilliant student at the Diocesan Seminary, he had been attached as interpreter to Father Vroklage during his field-trip in Belu in 1937. The burden of his present high position of Bupati prevented him from following more closely the progress of my investigations.

Finally, some material has been found in the archive of the Diocese of Atambua which have been made available to me by Father A. van Lieshout. Even there, pre-World War II documents are rare due to the events of the Japanese occupation.

Chronology of the Border Disputes

In the first half of the nineteenth century the situation was as follows:

The Portuguese, or at least their descendants, still occupied the territory of Oekusi-Ambeno where their first settlement of Lifau had long been abandoned (1769) for Dili, the present provincial capital. The case was the same for the small territory of Noimuti held by a group of early followers of the Portuguese enterprises in the Timor-Solor islands. In the eastern half of the island most territories had practically submitted to the Portuguese influence and had become Catholics, although many had formerly put themselves under the protection of the East India Company (V.O.C.) between 1756 and 1760.¹

In 1811, at or shortly after the fall of Java into the hands of Raffles, the Portuguese took advantage of the Dutch to occupy Atapupu. When Timor was returned to the Dutch by the British in 1818, the Portuguese made no sign of withdrawing from the fort of Atapupu. The Resident of Kupang, Hazaart, embarked himself for Atapupu with 30 men, found there a 'half-naked garrison' headed by a native who called himself 'Captain', removed the Portuguese flag, put the Dutch flag in its place and ordered the 'Captain' to be ^{given} delivered 25 cane strokes with

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To the extent that in 1759 a garrison had been established at Lixan (i.e. Likusaen) a mere 30 km. west of Dili, and a fort built at Maubara, a few kilometres west of Lixan. Owing to the cost of maintenance - a Balinese ensign and 12 men - the declining Dutch Company withdrew the troops and destroyed the fort in 1762. [Roo 1904: 208]

In 1848, Steyn Parvé was commissioned in Timor to negotiate the purchase from the Portuguese of all their rights on Timor and dependencies. The attempt was unsuccessful.

In 1851, Goldman was sent to Timor to negotiate the preliminaries of a border arrangement.

In 1854, a treaty was signed which fixed the border and made minor adjustments by exchange of territories, but the Dutch denounced the treaty because it did not stipulate a reciprocal recognition of freedom of religion in the territories which the Portuguese would eventually acquire in the transaction.

In 1859 a new treaty was proposed and signed, after the report of a mixed commission, by which the Dutch paid a 200,000 guilder indemnity for the Portuguese to renounce all pretensions ~~to~~ external islands, except Atauro, an islet which shelters Dili roadstead. Moreover a crude division of the island was agreed upon. It consisted of an imaginary line which ran from 9° of south latitude on the north coast and divided Djenilu and Kowa, to 9°40' on the south coast and there divided Lakekun from Suai. 'Between these two points the ~~separation~~ ^{separating} line ~~between~~ the two neighbouring Dutch and Portuguese territories was very contorted'. [Zondervan 1888: 38] And indeed it still ^{left} ~~tolerated~~ two Portuguese enclaves in Dutch territory: Oe Kusi and Noi Muti, and one Dutch enclave in the Portuguese territory: Maukatar. But even so the situation became ^{clear} quite enough for ~~the administrative stage to take place~~ ^{an administration to be set up}.

In 1895, Grijzen, a 'Gezaghebber' of the last years of the nineteenth century, reported that the situation was not satisfactory, particularly as regards the isolated enclaves of Noi Muti on the one hand and Maukatar on the

other. He ^{stressed} ~~put forward~~ the fact that if the Netherlands wanted to include Oekusi, which is a particularly barren piece of land¹, the Government would have to give up in exchange the port of Atapupu and lose control over the exports of Belu. Grijzen suggested the abandonment of the Buna' states (Lamaknen, Lamaksanulu, Makir and Maukatar) instead.

In 1898 both sides formed a mixed commission to survey the border for the first time, ^{with a} ~~in~~ view ^{of} ~~of~~ exchanging Maukatar for Noi Muti and Tahakae.

In 1904 an agreement was reached in the Hague on the principle of the exchange. It was promulgated in the 'Indische Staatsblad' in 1906 only, ~~and~~ ^{and} this time the treaty guaranteed that freedom of religion would be respected by the contracting parties in the territories which they would consequently acquire.

In 1911-12 incidents, no record of which is available took place. They are said to have been caused by the lack of a proper map and of proper border stones with the consequence that border patrols stepped into one another's territory when pursuing cattle thieves, women-capturing and head-hunting parties.

It is at that time that the effective exchange seems to have taken place, ^{this} ~~and~~ resulted in a considerable ~~movement~~ of flight from Maukatar, which was becoming Portuguese, and from Suai and Kamanasa which had no change to fear. The movement ^{across} ~~through~~ the border was obviously ~~then~~ interfered with by Dutch and Portuguese patrols.

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It had already been offered to and declined by the Dutch Company in 1770 after Governor de Menezes had fled from its capital of Lifau, set ablaze by the feuding de Hornay and da Costa families. [Boxer 1947:16]

Most fights occurred at Lakmaras, the corridor between Lamaknen and Maukatar - these three districts being Buna' states. Tahakae became Dutch at the same time and its ruling family, together with about a thousand people, left immediately because of fear of reprisals from an old feud with Lamaknen. Lamaknen then set foot immediately in Tahakae which at once became Buna' territory under the name of Dirun. The Buna' overlord¹ now says it was given to them ~~in~~ ^{as a} reward for their gallant behaviour in fighting the Portuguese. The truth is ~~elsewhere~~ ^{otherwise} and far ~~far~~ ^{not so} ~~less~~ simple.²

It should be noted at this stage that the Tahakae lord and people, most of the Buna' and non-Buna' (i.e. Tetun) people of Maukatar, a great majority of Suai and Kamanasa people (with all their belongings sacred and profane) left the disputed areas and gathered in Wehali whom they asked for refuge and asylum. 'There was no further we could go' they say.

In 1913, in accordance with Art.14 of the 1904 agreement, the ~~difference~~ ^{dispute} was brought to the Permanent Court of Arbitration, where a compromise was signed.

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A.A. Bere-Tallo, present Regent of Belu.

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The feud started several generations ago over an affair of sorcery. Tahakae people had allegedly disinterred corpses of Bauho and Lasiolat nobles and placed yellow fruits* in their eye-sockets - an accusation of lycanthropy. A long and involved war ensued where the Buna', sought as allies against Tahakae, showed an insatiable greediness for new territories. Until 1911-12 Tahakae had only been protected by the border, the disappearance of which upset the equilibrium. In 1937, Vroklage was advised against visiting Dirun region.

*

Kaut mata modok.

A mixed commission ^{was to} ~~should in consequence~~ set in place the 29 border stones as decided by the 1898 commission and Portugal ^{was to} ~~should~~ surrender the territories of Noi Muti and Tamiru Ailala.

In 1915 a mixed commission met on the 1898 border and placed the stones.

In 1916 Noi Muti and Tamiru Ailala were actually handed over by the Portuguese. Then it became apparent that an accurate map of the border zone was lacking. The existing sketch did not show the positions of the stones. Governments on both sides decided to improve the map 'in order to prevent trespassing by our respective patrols and to put an end to the extravagances of the population'.

[Anon. 1924: 105]

In 1923 a topographic survey, ^{based on accurately located} ~~with precise taking of~~ astronomic stations, was made by a Dutch team of official topographers, the resulting map being jointly countersigned by both Governors. Apart from the never-ending reciprocal cattle and horse stealing raids, there is no evidence of further development on the border until 1942 when the Japanese ^{occupied} ~~came to occupy de facto~~ the whole island. The border consequently became meaningless to them and to ^{the} ~~a~~ few natives used as auxiliaries, if not to the populations.

~~As for~~ ^The western border with the subdivisions of North Central Timor (Timor Tengah Utara, head-town Kefamenanu) and South Central Timor (Timor Tengah Selatan, head-town Soe), although it has not been much heard of and has left little trace on record, ~~it~~ can be considered as a real border too. Certainly it may be regretted that this linguistic and cultural border between the Dawan people of North and South Central Timor and the Tetun of Belu has not ^{been} ~~come to be~~ made the international

border. ~~As~~ ^{then} One would have had a much clearer-cut division of the peoples of the island.

The settlement of this administrative border made it necessary for several commissions to convene. It was in 1916 that Controleur Nordholt together with Joseph da Costa, the Nai of Kakuluk Mesak and the Nai of Beboki decided on the actual delimitation of their respective territories ~~to be drawn up~~. The terms of the resulting treaty are preserved in the archives of Atambua. They give the precise delineation of the border along natural outlines, creeks, hilltops, etc. and no less than 8 border stones, each bearing its number and the date of the treaty 1916.

The matter was settled later and separately for the southern half of the same border, that between Malaka and Amanatun (part of South Central Timor). ~~There is left~~ ^{there is} In Atambua a copy of the 'letter of agreement' dated 20th December 1929 and signed by the 'Keizer' (Dutch: Emperor) of Amanatun, Kolo Banunaek, and the deputy-Liurai for Malaka, Seran Asit Fatin, and countersigned by the 'controleur' of Belu', the 'controleur' of South Central Timor, and further attested by the Resident of Timor. ~~As for~~ ^T The northern portion of the border, ~~it~~ similarly delineates carefully the respective territories. Border incidents, however, between Amanatun on the western side, and Wewiku and Rabasa on the eastern side, have not found a definitive solution in this sort of agreement. An immigrant group from the south coast of Portuguese Timor, Raimea, had been settled right on the border with South Nenometan, opposite to Toinanas, at Wanibesak around 1916 in order to contain the Dawan out of the fertile plain. Fighting constantly recurs ^{mostly because} ~~on matters~~ of trespassing herds ~~mostly~~. Further north, Rabasa holds in

vassalage - for the same purpose - a few groups of villages such as Tafuli and Nabutaek. The situation there is permanently tense and the area is rarely visited by officials. Neighbouring school teachers had been commissioned for the Census taken there in 1961, but a village chief succeeded in seizing the cards and destroying them. It is obvious that I could not enquire too closely into this and similar incidents. The scarcity of police patrols going to these places is enough to tell that this too is a tense area.

APPENDIX B

Chronology of Internal Rearrangements

To the Dutch government which did not intend and could not afford to build up a direct administration - as the Portuguese do in their 'Overseas Provinces' - every native lord was a 'Radja', king, ruling and reigning over his kingdom whatever its size. A hierarchy among them was assumed to exist, but it had to be found out and recognized officially in order that the government would have to deal with as few ~~interlocutors~~^{intermediaries} as possible. The history of some fifty years of Dutch administration is one of mergings and amalgamations of small units into larger ones.

In 1904 the Dutch recognized 20 autonomous districts ('swapradja'): Fialaran, Djenilu, Silawan, Lidak, Naitimu, of Tetun speaking populations, situated around and in the hinterland of Atapupu; Insana, Beboki, Harneno, Nenometan, of Dawan-speaking populations, all west of the present Belu subdivision; Lamaknen, Maukatar, Makir, Lamaksanulu, some of the Buna' states; Wehali, Wewiku, Haitimuk, Lakekun, Dirma, Fatuaruin, Mandeu, the Tetun-speaking states of and around the south plain. Maukatar was still held by the Dutch for some time while the Portuguese had not yet handed over the territories of Noimuti, Tahakae, and Tamiru-Ailala.

In 1906, a pacification expedition was led through the districts of West Timor where long standing differences among the local rulers, mostly of Amanuban and Amanatun, ~~wanted settlement~~^{had to be settled}. It went as far as Nenometan where several incidents occurred, and did not apparently intend to go further, ~~but then~~^{when} news was heard

of serious unrest in Wewiku. The corps moved into Wewiku from the south-west and battle took place at Weliman on 11th and 12th November, 1906. [K.V. 1907: 79-84]

One of the consequences of this is that Nenometan, (also known as Anas, but only to foreigners), ^{because of} ~~for~~ its submission to Dutch authority, obtained its separation from Wewiku and Wehali in 1908, and its return to Amanatun where it apparently belonged of old. The second consequence was the establishment of a military post at Besikama, the head village of Wewiku, and of a temporary one at Laran in Wehali.

In their effort to find a lesser number of valid rulers, the Dutch were helped by the fact that Dona Petronella da Costa, who ruled over Lidak since the death of her father, Alexander da Costa, in 1900, abdicated in 1913 in favour of her brother, Joseph, who was already Radja of Djenilu. The two districts then became one, and received the name of Belu Tasi Feto.¹

In 1914 the Radja of Naitimu, Don Basenti da Costa, a brother of the former two, died. ~~and~~ ^{It} was decided, possibly under Government influence, that Don Joseph da Costa would again cumulate and succeed his brother. The new unit under Joseph da Costa was called Kakuluk Mesak, lit. pillar single, ~~to~~ ^{reference} ~~refer~~ allegorically to the new construction supported by a single post, a notable achievement since all

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Tasi feto, lit. sea woman, designates the region of the coast of the Savu Sea, or Strait of Ombai, which is very smooth and quiet there, a feminine character. On the coast of Timor Sea, which is very rough, the region is sometimes called in contrast: Tasi mane, sea man.

traditionally ruled political units have two heads just as the houses always have two main posts named kakuluk.

In 1915 the subdivision of North Middle Timor was formed, resulting in Insana, Beboki and Harneno being separated from Belu.

In the same year and in 1916, a general reshuffle took place. Firstly, 'Kakuluk Mesak' was dissolved and enlarged by Fialaran, Silawan, Lamaknen (already enlarged by Makir and Lamaksanulu in 1914) and Tahakae changed into Dirun. The new unit was re-named again: Belu Tasi Feto.

Simultaneously, the multiplicity of autonomous districts in the south was put to an end and the old name of Malaka was revived for a new province. Under Nai Teeseran, as Liurai, a title which had also to be revived, came the districts of Wehali, Wewiku, Haitimuk, Lakekun, Dirma, Fatu Aruin, and a few subdistricts which had just made themselves known as less dependant from the above than it had first seemed. This was the case of Rabasa, Kaberan Rai, Dato Makdean, under Wewiku; Litamali and Alas under Lakekun; Kusa and Mandeu under Dirma; and finally Manlea and Banibani under Fatu Aruin. The overlord (Liurai), the Loro, and the subdistrict lords each received a monthly stipend of respectively 100, 60, and 25 guilders. An administrative system was thus ^{established} ~~accomplished~~ and gave some satisfaction to the government. Malaka had six districts and nine subdistricts, but Belu Tasi Feto was a grouping of ten districts and 15 subdistricts (eight of them for the very restricted territory of Lamaknen!).

Before the merger of the different districts of the south into Malaka, a central authority which the Dutch administration could make use of / had been difficult to

locate. The most powerful war chief had been Nai Maroe Rai, killed at Weliman. He had exercised tyrannical power from one end of the plain to the other. The most dignified was certainly Nai BARIA NAHAK, who bore the title of Maromak Oan, meaning the child of god. The most active and enterprising was Nai TAHU TAEK, apparently the only one who made himself really busy with public affairs in and around Wehali. But when it came to decide who would be the 'bestuurder', ~~the~~ ^{and} leader of such a large unit as Malaka, Nai Baria Nahak declined the position, ~~and~~ ^{He} pointed to Nai TEESERAN, his Liurai, his fully legitimate worldly homologue, ~~but at the same time~~ ^{who was} a rather minor chief, almost completely forgotten ~~in~~ ^{the} ~~this~~ disused function of Liurai in his Fatu Aruin fief. The influence of Grijzen must also be reckoned in this, for he had already published in 1904 his 'Contributions Concerning Belu or Middle Timor' where he had ~~exposed~~ ^{exposed} the theoretical system of a diarchy as it was known to his 'Tasi Feto' informants.

The division of Belu into two halves, Tasi Feto to the north and Malaka to the south, was ratified when Don Joseph da Costa and Nai Teeseran signed a 'korte verklaring' (Dutch, short declaration) in February 1917, promulgated in the same year by Government decree. In 1920, Don Joseph died and was replaced by Nai ATOK SAMARA, ^{earlier} who had ~~been~~ ^{already} designated as 'Radja' of Fialaran but ~~until~~ ^{had} it ~~was~~ split into two districts Bauho and Lasiolat, and his authority ^{had been} ~~was~~ restricted to Bauho, with the title of Loro Bauho. Atok Samara, like Joseph da Costa who had also shown great ability in attaining the expansion of his territory ^{through} ~~in~~ his dealings with the Government, ^{had} ~~was~~ a very strong, ~~and~~ even a violent

^{he was}
 character; haughty, and much feared by his people and his peers, all of whom he dominated. Nai Teeseran, the Liurai, i.e. overlord of Malaka, on the contrary, has left no trace in the memories of his people, having never been capable of dealing efficiently with state affairs or with the Administration. The difference in attitude and in ability between these two men is reflected in the destinies of their respective lands. Joseph da Costa was not much known among the population under his European name, but rather as Nai Sirimain. His European name however, is the one retained in popular memory although it is impossible to establish to whom the present da Costas can trace back their descent. The name is found in the two generations above Don Joseph and is still borne by his successors and in collateral lines. This shows that a great deal of intercourse had taken place between the ruling gens and Europeans, specifically the Portuguese. Nai Teeseran, on the other hand, was baptized only two years before his death in 1924, which is a sign of his reluctance, on the one hand, to establish closer contacts with Europeans and, on the other, of course, a consequence of the belated efforts of the Dutch in extending their influence to this region of Timor.

In 1924, the Dutch, who had in the two preceding years completed their removal from miasmal Atapupu and the installation of their new capital of Atambua, progressed a step further, ^{to wards} ~~in the way of~~ unification and simplification. Belu Tasi Feto and Malaka were abolished and a new single 'zelfbesturende landschap', lit. autonomous province, proclaimed with a new sole Radja Belu at its head. He was neither of the former

two rulers, but Nai Baria Nahak who had (in 1906) complained of the unrest which reigned in the south plain and sought the intervention of the 'kompeni', the Dutch forces. ^{He had a personal status which} ~~a personality whom~~ the Dutch called ~~also~~ 'keizer', lit. emperor. He was a nobleman of quite outstanding position, and universally recognized in the whole of Timor as the overlord holding the most sacred position in the most sacred place, the centre of Wehali, but it was certainly not a ruling position. He died the same year, and his successor, chosen by oracle, was a young man, Nai SERAN NAHAK, who had attended the mission school for only a few years, and was still not baptized at the time. Until 1926, certainly not much ruling was asked from him and not much acting as intermediary between the people and the Government since the latter was at Atambua and there was no question for the 'keizer', Seran Nahak, to remove from Laran, the centre of Wehali.

In 1926, he was invited to come to sign the 'korte verklaring' and to be officially declared 'Radja Belu'. Nai Atok Samara, to show his disagreement, refused to attend the ceremony to which the Resident of Timor ~~had~~ himself ^{had} come. The Resident thereupon, by decree, deprived him of his title of Loro Bauho. But further incidents occurred during the tour of the province which the 'Controleur' organized to introduce the new 'Radja Belu', the keizer. One local lord held out his left hand without facing the Radja Belu while they were being introduced. Another refused to give his retainers the order to carry Radja Belu's palanquin and other similar incidents occurred.

A Government auxiliary, J.S. KEDOH was then commissioned to inquire into the special nature of the position of 'keizer'. His valuable report recorded the genealogical ties linking the lords of Malaka and resulted in the Dutch retaining Nai Seran Nahak in his position, ^{which} ~~which~~ he kept until 1930, despite many attempts, on his part, to resign. As the present administrative officers at Atambua are themselves former Radja or nobles of the rival northern region, it is no wonder that the only copy of Kedoh's report has disappeared, with much other such material, from the Atambua Archives. ~~And~~ ^{This} This is a normal reaction because, apart from the fact that Kedoh presumably had stressed the historical foundation of the suzerainty of Wehali over at least the rest of Belu, many of the Dutch administrators' reports contained much ^{of}, often unpleasant, inside information on prominent families and their feuds.

In 1930, after repeated applications, Nai Keser, as the 'keizer', Seran Nahak, is still commonly called, was finally relieved of the post, ~~which he could no longer sustain~~ Because of his general incompetence, ~~because of the general discontent of Tasi Feto nobles,~~ and ~~because,~~ despite his high title, ^{his lack of} ~~he had no~~ real power, he could carry out his duties no longer.

a Provisional Liurai was then promoted to the position of Radja Belu ^{As} the eldest son of Nai Teeseran, Antoni Teeseran, ^{was} being too young - about 15 years old - to succeed his father, ^{As}. The Deputy Liurai, Nai SERAN ASIT FATIN, otherwise Radja of Manlea, was chosen ~~for~~ ^{because} because his close kinship to the actual Liurai, but this again was strongly resented by the Tasi Feto nobles.

At one meeting in Atambua, Nai Atok Samara, Loro BAUHO, cursed the deputy-Liurai: 'If I am wrong [in my allegations]', he said, 'I shall die; if I am right, you will'. The deputy-Liurai died shortly afterwards. It appears, to the minds of even some of the government officials today that this death was sufficient evidence to the Dutch that Nai Atok Samara was right in accusing the Provisional-Liurai of being an usurper, ~~and the proof of it is~~ ^{This is proved by the fact} that Atok Samara was officially reinstated by the Dutch in the same year.

In 1932, a compromise was devised to avoid complete deadlock between the southern and the northern nobles. Three prominent noblemen ~~would~~ ^{were to} constitute a provisional council of self-government. The three members were (1) Loro Bauho, Atok Samara; (2) Loro Lakekun, Benedictus LEKI, and (3) Loro Wewiku, BERE NAHAK. The three were ~~at parity~~ ^{equal in status} and ~~they~~ agreed to have a certain percentage of their own and of the subdistrict lords' salaries deducted to provide Antoni Teeseran with a proper education abroad. Curiously, it was to Bima (Sumbawa) - where there were no more nor better schools than in Timor - that he chose to go and not to Flores or even Java. ~~He~~ Unfortunately ~~he~~ died at Bima during the Japanese occupation.

In 1941, on the eve of the Japanese invasion, a new plan was being devised. It consisted of a new redivision of Belu into three 'zelfbesturende landschappen' (i.e. autonomous provinces): (1) Tasi Feto, (2) Malaka, and (3) Lamaknen, to increase the Buna' States' relative independence from Tetun-speakers. This ^{scheme} was hampered by the arrival of the

Japanese. Shortly afterwards, both Loro Bauho and Loro Wewiku died. The Japanese found that the simplest solution was to divide the Tetun-speaking area into northern and southern regions. A Lasiolat noble, N. MANEK, was designated as 'Radja Tasi Feto' for the north, and for the south, an original expedient was implemented. Two nobles were designated to take the title and the function of 'Radja Tasi Mane' in turn ~~for~~ about for one year each. They were (1) the provisional successor to Loro Wewiku, Nai KALAU, who somehow has managed to retain the title to this day, (2) the lord of Fatu Aruin, Edmundus Teeseran who, himself the child of a Chinese father, assumed the personal name of Liurai Teeseran and became a pretender in opposition to Antoni whose death was not heard of until the return of the Dutch.

In 1945, the pre-war provisional council of self-government was reinstated to govern a reunified province. Its members were (1) Loro Lakekun, Benedictus Leki, who had gained in seniority through the death of his former colleagues; (2) Hendricus da Costa, successor to Nai Atok Samara as Loro Bauho, and (3) A.A. BERE-TALLO whose great political ability had resulted in his becoming the new Radja Lamaknen by popular consent, and dislodging of Loro Wewiku in the three man council.

The 1941 reorganisation program was proposed again in 1949 by the Resident of Kupang for approval by the Ministry of Interior of the East Indonesian State - one of the post-war federalist experiments which the Dutch ~~have~~ made - but it soon collapsed and the reorganisation program was not followed up.

Until 1955, i.e. even under the unitary republican government, the administration of the still self-governing province was left to its Provisional Council of Government. It was composed of the three Radja to whom four elected members were simply added. Only one of the latter originated from Malaka; the three others were from the 'capital' of Atambua and its neighbourhood.

Each of the three Radja at this stage was officially only a 'Kepala Wilayah Kesatuan Hadat (or 'Adat)', lit. Head region unity custom, i.e. the head of a region of common custom. The K.W.K.H. of the south was Benedictus Leki who had been in a leading position there since 1932 - except during the Japanese occupation - as a deputy in the absence of an able Liurai. But then he was aging and, again, Louis Teeseran, a younger brother of the late Antoni was gaining experience and a liking for power as a clerk under Benedictus Leki, his own deputy. So a few months later, in October 1955, B. Leki retired in favour of Louis S. Teeseran whom the people recognized as 'Liurai Malaka', the government as K.W.K.H., a traditional head of a region of common custom, and the administration in their everyday jargon, as 'Radja Malaka'.

It was in 1958 that law No.69¹ changed the Swapradja, self-ruled, into a Swatantra, self-

¹
Undang-undang pembentukan daerah-daerah swatantra tingkat II di Bali, Nusa Tenggara Barat dan Nusa Tenggara Timur, i.e. Laws for the constitution of second level self-administered zones in Bali, the Western and the Eastern Lesser Sunda Islands.

administered zone.¹ The three former regions of common custom (W.K.H.), were replaced by five ketjaman, i.e. districts. The Council of Self-Government was replaced by a Bupati Kepala Daerah, lit. Regent head (of) zone, to comply with the tendency to uniformity in the administration all over the Republic, and an increasing centralization.

In the south of Belu the situation pro ante remained unchanged until August 1962, when the Wilajah Kesatuan Hadat Malaka under its Radja Malaka was replaced by two Ketjaman. One was created in the west: Ketjaman Malaka Barat (barat: west) with Edmundus Teeseran, the half-Chinese pretender to the title of Liurai, as head of Ketjaman, and the other in the east, Ketjaman Malaka Timur (timur: east) with, as its head, a middle ranking public servant whose partial education abroad had given him some prestige in contrast to the so-called feudal lords.

Malaka Barat was essentially composed of the territory of Wewiku, on which is interspersed a people who divide their allegiance among five different Nai-lords and is established on the lower true right bank of the Benenai river. The paramount lord is

1

Swapradja, from Skr. swa, self and pradja, rule, refers to a state where there is internal autonomy. The traditional political authorities are kept in their ruling positions. Swatantra, from Skr. Swa, self and tantra, instrument, refers to the present state of things where the only authority is that of the central (Djakarta) government. The local administration is also, more or less, kept in place, but only in an executive role, i.e. an instrument of the central authority.

(1) Loro Wewiku, the others are (2) Haitimuk, also under a 'Loro', (3) Nai Dato Makdean, (4) Nai Kaberan Rai, (5) Nai Rabasa Hain.

Malaka Timur comprised the territories of (1) Wehali proper, (2) Fatu Aruin, (3) Manlea, (4) Banibani, (5) Dirma, (6) Lakekun, (7) Litamali, (8) Alas (to which had been added Tamiru Ailala), (9) Kusa, and (10) Mandeu. It soon became apparent to the Regent (Bupati) and to the people that the young official put at the head of Malaka Timur was not proficient, that the area was too large for an effective modern style administration. The standard of Java puts the ratio of one ketjamatan to 10,000 inhabitants and Malaka Timur had some 50,000. Malaka Timur was then divided again into Malaka Tengah (tengah: middle) and Malaka Timur. Malaka Timur was reduced to the 'hill' districts of (1) Lakekun, (2) Litamali, (3) Alas, (4) Dirma, (5) Kusa, (6) Mandeu, whereas Middle Malaka was made up of (1) Wehali, (2) Fatu Aruin, (3) Manlea, (4) Bani-Bani. The shortage of competent administrators which had caused a minor official to be chosen as head of Ketjamatan Malaka Timur in 1962 had not improved in 1964. A.A. Bere-tallo, the Regent head of zone, put forward the proposal, ~~which~~ ~~was~~ much appreciated by the population, of conferring this modern title of head of Ketjamatan Malaka Tengah, a position entailing the wearing of a uniform with epaulets and badges, to the Liurai, L.S. Teeseran. The former head of Malaka Timur followed the shifting of his district to the hills.

On the 6th of February, 1964, L.S. Teeseran, the Liurai, a traditional ruler of the whole of middle Timor, was invested as a servant of the Republic by his former

vassal, A.A. Bere Tallo, the traditional ruler of Malaka's Buna' marches.

On the first of May 1964, a meeting of the Catholic Party representatives in conjunction with the local branch of the 'Front Nasional' was convened at Betun, the head-town of Malaka Tengah, to promote the creation of a new Daerah Tingkat II, a second level zone, in Malaka which would thus become independent from the 'hill people' of Atambua. ~~And~~ Indeed, there is ~~now~~ a notable difference between this project ~~of~~^{for} a more radical redivision and those which the Dutch had indulged in during the five decades prior to 1949. The Dutch starting from Atapupu, the principal trading centre of middle Timor, tried, and failed, to devise a workable native political system, never having taken proper account of the real centres of political power.

It would be unreasonable to foresee in the recent move of May 1964, which was no more than a recommendation through the channel of the 'Front Nasional', initiated by Benedictus Leki, Loro Lakekun, a dexterous politician, an indication that a renaissance of Wehali's grandeur is possible. But the new fact that Wehali and Malaka as a whole now initiate a move instead of passively submitting to Dutch, Japanese or Buna' decisions is obviously a sign that the south Tetun districts, at last, awaken to the realities and demands of administration and politics. The initiative this time comes from Malaka, notwithstanding the notorious reluctance of Atambua, instead of coming from Atambua in an attempt to reconcile irreconcilable political concepts.

APPENDIX C

Text With Literal TranslationI. Wehali moris

" comes to life.

Rai Tetun e'e foin nahu maran no nahu kukun
Land " this just begin dry and begin dark

Bei fetu ida naran Bui Kiak¹ no nan
Ancestor woman one name Bui orphan and brother

mane ida naran Mau Kiak Mauk Mane Kmesak no
man one name Mau orphan Mau man only and

fetu ra² nain³ rua ida naran Seu Harek
woman-retainer persons two one name " "

ida naran Bui Harek rodi no oe Fukun
one name " " bring with rattan knots

Sanulu Oe Roa Atus no asu metan Asu Suli.
ten rattan span 100 and dog black dog [flow]

Nahu sia sai rosi rai bot mai sia
begin they out from land great come they

rabinan ba hali ida naran Hali Berlele⁴.
suspended at Ficus one name Ficus "

Tasi no meti tiba rodi mai sia nare
sea and sea reject bring come they see
(which covers &
uncovers the beaches)

ha'i uan ida lakan no der⁵ iha taruik ida
fire little one light and glow at hill one

naran Marlilu Haholek⁶ Dadi Mau Kiak bedok
name " " outcome then " " turns

ohin hali ne'e natutuk ohin
just mentioned Ficus this aims just mentioned

taruik uan ha'i lakan no der iha ne'e to'o
hill little fire light and glow at this till

taruik ne'e hun Mau Kiak nakau
hill this flank, side " " carries in
his arms

nasae Bui Kiak no fetu ra ne'e ba ohin
carries up " " and retainers this to just

1

Notes are found in the pages which follow the translation of the present text in Section 3 of Chapter 3.

taruik ne'e hotu Mau Kiak natetuk ohin hali
 hill this finished " " erects just Ficus

ne'e nanuku an ba rai foin hali ne'e
 this settle (it)self to earth then Ficus this

abut kaer rai ohin der no lakan iha
 roots hold earth just glow and light at

Marlilu Halolek ne'e sia to'o ba naliku lahos
 " " this they till go see not

ha'i mais kmeda matan laka
 fire but (Port.) 'kus-kus' eyes shine
 tree marsupial

laku matan laka⁵ Hotu taka nola
 'musang' eyes shine finish enclose cover effectuate:
 civet cat

uma uan ida mais lalatan la taka uma
 house little one but ridge not close house

ne'e naran Uma Rai Lalian Hotu natama
 this name HouseEarthHeaven finish causes to enter

ba sena iha nia Bui Harek no Seu Harek
 go close at there " " and " "
 (by sliding
 the door)

daka kalan no loron Bui Kiak sena iha
 watch night and day " " enclosed at

Uma Rai Lalian mais buat Maromak lian
 " " " but thing the 'Luminous' word

kalan Bui Kiak rona dadeku kfui nosi uma lalatan
 night " " ears rap flute from house ridge

la taka ne'e Hotu Bui Kiak nase⁷ na'ak Se
 not closed this Finish " " greets says who

mak ne'e buat e'e nata na'ak : Hau, Hotu
 which this thing this replies says I Finish

Bui Kiak na'ak : Kalo o te mahonu o ain
 " " says if thou well lower thy foot

kwana mai, Dadi buat e'e mos nahonu ain
 right come then thing this also lowers foot

kwana ba Bui Kiak belo notu nasae nikar, Nu
 right to " " licks finish gets up return like

ne'e kalan kalan dadi Bui Kiak mos
 this night night then " " also (in her turn)

netan onan Bui Kiak uan atu to'o
 obtains already " " child will till
 (is impregnated)

onan naruka Bui Harek no Seu Harek nak : Imi
 already orders " " and " " says you

ba kuru we no hola ai lai Hotu sia
 go scoop water and fetch wood first finish they

rua ba mai sei kleur Bui Kiak uan to'o
 2 go come yet long(time) " " child till

tia husar nuit kotu tia ua ne'e taka
 already umbilic pull torn already child this enclos

ba ai balun⁹ ida ua feto ne'e naran
 to box one child woman this name

Hoar Nai Daholek⁸ Bui Kiak taka tia ua
 " " " " enclosed already child

ne'e ba aibalun hotu la'o nela ba tama
 this go box finish goes leaves to enters

tia ba ohin Hali Berlele naktomak natos
 already into just " " completes itself becom
 solid

tia La oras Bui Harek no Seu Harek
 already no time " " and " "
 (Port. hora)

rodi ai no we mai fali Bui Kiak la
 bring wood and water come return " " not

iha tian sia rua neon at nodu tanis
 there already they 2 heart bad effects tears

sia terik na'ak : O atu sae leten sae
 they say say thou want raise above raise

as⁵ nu'u nia mein ami lai Feto ra rua ne'e
 up like that wait us first retainers 2 these

tanis kalan tanis loron teki-tekis sia rona
 weep night weep day suddenly they ear

aibalun tarutu hotu sia ra'ak : Hé ita loke
 box sounds finish they say " we open

haliku lai te kalo ha Nai fetu atu sae
 look first because if my mistress about to rais

leten sae as kalo rai nela husar kotu
 above raise up if lays leaves umbilic torn

binan kotu⁵ Dadi feto ra rua ne'e loke ohin
 umbilic torn finish retainers 2 these open just

aibalun e'e nare ohin husar kotu binan kotu
 box this see just umbilic torn (x2)

Hoar Nai Daholek Ohin nia nan
 " " " Just(before) her brother

Mau Kiak Mauk Mane Kmesak natama nela tia
 " " " " " causes to enter, leaves alrea

Bui Kiak ba Uma Rai Lalian katak nela ba
 " " at " " " gives words leaves to

Bui Harek no Seu Harek: imi rua daka o Nai fetu
 " " and " " you 2 watch thy mistress

te hau sei kodi Oe Fukun Sanulu Oe
 because I still take rattan knots 10 rattan

Roa Atus no asu metan Asu Suli kodi la'o
 span 100 and dog black " " take proceed

kalolon rai tasi mane¹⁰ Nia sai nosi
 peri-pateticate land sea man he gets out from

Wehali la'o nalolon tasi rai kalan¹¹ ona
 " proceeds pacing sea earth night already

toba iha rai sikun ida Nia nanaran rai
 sleeps at earth corner one he names earth

sikun e'e naran Mota Ain Dareha Leki-lerek Kakua.....
 corner this name river foot " " " "

Sei sawan nia la'o liu ba asu metan Asu Suli
 still morning he walks ahead go dog black " "

kohi nola busa ida iha hali ida nanaran
 catches takes cat one at Ficus one names

hali ne'e naran Halibusa
 Ficus this name "

Hotu fila mai nola foho kalan onan
 finish returns comes takes mountain night already

nia toba nia nanaran rai ne'e naran Maholok
 he sleeps he names land this name "

sei sawan asu metan Asu Suli natenu nola
 morning after dog black " " barks takes

laku ida iha hali ida nia nanaran
 'musang' civet-cat one at Ficus one he names

hali ne'e naran Halilaku dadi rai ne'e bolu
Ficus this name " finish land this call

halo Halilaku Maholok ¹⁴ ¹⁵
do " "

Hotu la'o liu mai iha Wesei Wehali
finish proceeds straight comes at " "

mai fali Bui Kiak la iha tian nusu
comes return " " not here already asks

Bui Harek no Seu Harek: O Nai fetu Bui Harek
" " and " " thy mistress " "

no Seu Harek natan na'ak: Ha Nai fetu nasae
and " " reply say my mistress elevated

an sae leten sae as ami la hare.
herself raised above raised up we not see

To'o loron ida asu metan Asu Suli natenu nola
till day one dog black " " barks gets

nikar Bui Kiak iha ohin Hali Berlele dadi
return " " at just " " then

Mau Kiak ba nateke nare iha ohin hali ne'e
" " goes looks at sees at just Ficus this

laran Mau Kiak nasai nola nikar
inside " " causes to get out gets return

Nai fetu ne'e mai nalo tur nikar iha
noble woman this come makes sit return at

Uma Rai Lalian
" " "

II. Hosi Rai Malaka tun from land Malaka down

Malaka nain tun mai iha Wehali nodu kedan
" lord down come at " brings together

hutun no renu na naran Taek Rai Malaka,
people and subjects his name " land "
(Port.:reino)

inan naran Baba Liu uan naran Bae Liu ¹⁶ ohin ema
mother name " " child name " " just people

mak daka sia ida naran Bria Nahak ida naran
which watch they one name " " one name

Bria Berek ¹⁷ Sia nosi Malaka mai la'o nola
" " they from " come proceed take

loro lakan loro len nodi kalan sia la'o
 sun light sun glow take night they proceed
liu ba to'o Fatumea Talama¹⁸ fila mai
 ahead go till " " turn back come
nare ha'i ida lakan iha Marlilu Haholek makfoin
 see fire one light at " " thereupon
sia sadia nak: He Ina rain ama rain¹⁹
 they think say He mother earth father earth
la'o liu tian foin sia fila rias
 proceed over already again they return back
mai la'o rahuluk ohin ha'i der iha
 come proceed heading just fire glow at
Marlilu Haholek, To'o mai tia sia tur
 " " till come already they sit
namotu Uma Rai Lalian nain iha Marlilu Haholek
 assembled " " " masters at " "
Nola sawan ida Malaka nain Taek Rai Malaka
 take morning one " lord " " "
sasiku dai nodi ba tiha teki-tekis
 places on net in order to go cast(net) suddenly
 elbow
Hoar Nai Daholek inan Bui Kiak natadu an
 " " ('s) mother " " reveals herself
ba nia hotu Taek Rai Malaka nase nak: Hai
 to him finish " " " greets says (interj.)
Baba o mai sa Bui Kiak simu nak:
 WM thou come what(for) " " replies says
Hau mai katak ba o tan ha sae leten
 I come tell to thou for I raised above
sae as rai kela husar kotu binan kotu iha
 raised up lay leave umbilic torn (x2) at
Uma Rai Lalian²⁰ o mare e lae²¹ Hotu
 " " " thou seeth or not finish
Taek Rai Malaka simu na'ak: Hau la kare, Dadi
 " " " replies says I not see then
Bui Kiak katak nela ba nia Seisawan
 " " tells leaves to him tomorrow morning

maruka Bria Nahak no Bria Berek ba iha Uma Rai
order " " and " " go at " "

Lalian husu ba Bui Harek no Seu Harek, Dadi
" ask go " " and " " then

Taek Rai Malaka mai naruka Bria Nahak no
" " " comes orders " " and

Bria Berek ba iha Uma Rai Lalian, To'o ba
" " go to " " " till to

Bui Harek no Seu Harek nase sia:
" " and " " greet them

He bi Bria Nahak Bria Berek
" eZ " " " "

To'o ami ke sawan sawan ba sa
till us yet early in the morning go what(for)

Tadu ami ke sawan sawan ba sa
sudden us yet early in the morning go what(for)⁽⁵⁾

Emi hodi sa lia katak sain
you bring what word (tell) express (get out)

ami
us

Hotu Bria Nahak no Bria Berek simu ra'ak:
finish " " and " " reply say

E'e ami atu la mai be mate dei
" we want not come then dead only

mai fali ba be mate dei
come return to then dead only

Ami mai ne'e o Nai Taek Rai Malaka naruka
we come now thy lord " " " ordered

ami na'ak nia baban Bui Kiak sae leten sae
us said his WM " " raised above raised

as rai nela husar kotu binan kotu iha
up laid left umbilic torn umbilic torn at

Uma Rai Lalian, Hotu Bui Harek no Seu Harek
" " " finish " " and " "

simu na'ak: Iha, ami la katak be
reply say (she) is (here) we not tell then

mate dei katak be mate dei, Mais imi rua
dead only tell then dead only but you 2

ba katak ba ha Nai Mane sei sawan nia mai
 go tell to my master early morning he comes
halo rai nela asu etu sia²² niate toma
 make (him) lay leave dogs royal they if so obtains
be laete²¹ ohin nia la toma. Hotu Bria
 then if not just he not obtains finish "
Nahak no Bria Berek fila nias ba katak tia
 " and " " return back go tell already
seisawan dader nia mai toma nola
 early morning day break he comes obtains takes
Hoar Nai Daholek hotu sia rua rola malu
 " " " finish they 2 take one another.
Sia rola malu ke kleur nune'e Taek Rai Malaka
 They married yet long like this " " "
ba nikar iha nian uma ksadan Nai Malaka²³
 goes return at his house place Lord "
mais nia ba ne'e atu nola feto ida
 but he goes there wants take woman one
iha ksadan Nai Malaka Nia ba ke kleur
 at place Lord " He goes yet long(time)
tian Hoar Nai Daholek na'ak: Hai! Nai
 already " " " says " Lord
Taek Rai Malaka ba ke kleur onan laho
 " " " goes yet long already not yet
mai! Mais Hoar Nai Daholek rona tian
 come but " " " ears already
Taek Rai Malaka atu nola feto ida tenik iha
 " " " wants take woman one other at
ksadan Nai Malaka. Nola sawan Hoar Nai Daholek
 place Lord " take morning " " "
naruka Bui Harek no Seu Harek atu ba kokon
 orders " " and " " will go try
naliku tebes e lae.²¹ Dadi seisawan sia
 see true or not then still morning they
rua ba naliku fila rias mai katak ba
 2 go see return back come tell to
Hoar Nai Daholek na'ak: Nai ami ata ba ema
 " " " say Lord us slaves go people
wain tebes iha ksadan Nai Malaka ami ata
 many true at place Lord " we slaves

rona ha Nai atu nola feto ida iha ksadan
ear my Master wants take woman one at place

Nai Malaka Hoar Nai Daholek rona tian nalon ba
Lord " " " " ears already begs go

iha leten no as nalo redimalae²⁴ sanulu tun
at above and up makes carriers ten down

mai nulan nia nodi ba iha ksadan Nai Malaka
come carry her bring to at place Lord "

to'o ba tia ema ata rai ne'e nare atu
till to already men slaves land this see want

nalai kari hotu Hoar Nai Daholek bolu sia
flee scatter finish " " " call them

na'ak: Imi keta halai hau mai bolu imi nain
says you do not flee I come call your master

mane Taek Rai Malaka Hotu bolu nola nia Baba Liu
man " " " finish calls take her HM "

no nia Bae Liu mai na'ak: Kalo hau ksadan
and her HZ " come says if my place

Nai Daholek la nain ba hau niate awan sawar
" " not master on me if so tomorrow or anot
day

snal ida kalo la to'o imi mais kalo ksadan
evidence one caused not till you but if place

Nai Daholek nain tebes ba hau tahan ida nakliki
" " master true on me leaf one flutter

tahan ida nakbele⁵ morin²⁵ kei keto'o ksadan
leaf one flutter scent must reach place

Malaka awan sawan snal ida kalo
" tomorrow or another day evidence one caused

to'o imi Hoar Nai Daholek dale notu tia
till you " " " speak finished already

nu ne'e bolu nola nia la'en Taek Rai Malaka
like this call take her husband " " "

mai niit nasae tan nia hotu nia bolu
come lifts raises because her finished she calls

nola nia Baba Liu no nia Bae Liu katak ba sia
take her HM " and her HZ " tells to them

na'ak: Baba Liu Bae Liu kalo awan seisawan hau
 says HM " HZ " if tomorrow morning I
kluku ulu furin suli tuir dalan to'o Uma
 lather head foam flow follow way till House
Liurai Malaka Dadi Baba Liu no Bae Liu hodi
 " " then HM " and HZ " use
hane matan sera hola te mesa osa mutin no
 pot lid stanch take but only money white and
osa mean, Hotu redimalae senulu nulan no sia
 money red finish bridges ten carry and they
noi Uma Rai Lalian mai nola sawan Hoar Nai Dahole
 to " " " come take morning " " "
luku ulu furin nakduir ba sae uma
 lathers head foam gushes go ascends house
Liurai Malaka Hotu sia sera hane matan ida ba
 " " finish they stanch pot lid one to
mesa osa mutin no osa mean sia rua nola
 only money white and money read they 2 take
nias malu sia te²⁶ nola ua nain
 back one another they emit effectuate children
hitu mane nen feto ida Uan siak naran mak
 7 men 6 woman one children their names which
ne'e: Leki Mataus, Ura Mataus, Saku Mataus, Neno Mataus
 these " " " " " " " "
Bara Mataus, Neti Mataus, Hoar Mataus ne'e Hoar Nai
 " " " " " " this " "

Makbalin.
 who protects.

Ohin feto ra rua Bui Harek no Seu Harek ha'ak
 before retainers 2 " " and " " said
ferik mahein rai iha Basa debu e
 old woman who guard land at (hit pool)
Tane Besi, Biti Rai e Taroman, Sona Fahi
 (balance forces) (mat earth) (altar) (prick pig)
e A Tebes,²⁷
 (true)

Leki Mataus ba tur iha Rai Likusaen ne'e Rai
 " " goes sit at land " this land
Lor Nain,²⁸ hotu Ura Mataus tuir.
 horizon lord finish " " follows.
Saku Mataus ba iha Sonbai.²⁹ Hotu Neno Mataus
 " " goes at " finish " "
tuir ba tenik Rai Sonbai.
 follows to again land "
Bara Mataus³⁰ Bara Rai Wehali.
 " " keeps/maintains land Wehali.
Neti Mataus no Hoar Mataus ne'e Hoar Nai Makbalin ma
 " " and " " this " " protects who
tur iha Uma Rai Lalian rodi titu
 sit at " " " in order to look after ba
Wesei e Wehali.
 " "

CHAPTER FOUR

ECONOMY

The two main economic activities of the southern Tetun people are horticulture and animal husbandry.

The most important item of horticultural production is maize, called batar malae, the foreign cereal. Rice is cultivated on both dry land and irrigated fields but comes only in the fourth position for production and consumption after maize, sorghum and mung beans. Sago, a product of collecting, becomes very important in the frequent periods of shortage of cereals. Nevertheless maize, rice, and mung beans mostly, are commonly exported, and usually so before the end of the harvest and ^{before} its yield is assessed.

Animal husbandry includes water-buffaloes and imported Bali cattle as well as pigs in large numbers. But cattle are reluctantly sold for export.

Hunting and fishing (only) represent a small contribution in the present day diet, mostly because of the scarcity of game and of the inadequacy of fishing techniques.

In former times, exports were, as already mentioned, wax and sandal wood. Imports have always been limited, the country being potentially self-sufficient, and if they do not increase as much as could be expected it is to some extent for reasons which are extraneous to the local situation.

A sexual dichotomy is again found in agriculture and in animal breeding. It can be termed a double sexual dichotomy because on one hand the horticultural activities and modes of production are divided between the hills and the plain region following the male or female connotations which they have been given. On the other hand, these activities and technical aptitudes are also, as it is more often found elsewhere, divided between men and women in both zones.

A difference of attitude between the two regions will be appreciated with respect to the various agricultural products and in their modes of consumption and disposal.

Section I. Rights ⁱⁿ ~~on~~ Land

Land in Wehali belongs to Wehali nain, the lord of Wehali, in a broader sense to the successors of Hoar Makbalin, the guardians of the sacred heritage, ^{and} thus to the lord with whom rests the feminine principle of the diarchy and ^{who is} personified by the present Nai Bot, great lord, also known as Nai Keser, emperor. Liurai (lit. superior to the earth or above the earth) is thus ipso facto excluded from ownership of land, ~~and~~ the existence of the diarchic system is already a sufficient indication that it is not correct to consider Liurai as a feudal lord, as has been maintained by several authors, mainly for reasons which stem from

etymological considerations on the title of Liurai.¹

Strictly speaking there is no longer any landlord in existence in the south plain of Belu since the disappearance of the aboriginal Melus. Some insight on this question can only be gained by referring again to the mythic history of Wehali.

A makoan, Bei Loofoun, gave a long and detailed account of a war which had to be fought against an aboriginal population called the Melus. Bei Loofoun said particularly:

As Malaka was coming up here we wanted to make him Liurai. The Melus headman did not want to make a governor of Malaka headman. Melus did not want to give precedence to Malaka. He said to Malaka headman: 'If you come down from heaven, go back to the settlements of above and become Liurai in the settlements of above. If you come up from the sea, go back to the settlements of the sea and bring the rule to the settlements of the sea. I shall not give this land, this land belonged to the Melus before, I shall not give it'. [Bei Loofoun, 21.4.63]

This is a statement which differs mainly from the myth of the settlement of Bui Kiak and Mau Kiak ⁱⁿ ~~by~~ its mentioning^s the existence of the Melus and their relative importance with respect to the lord of Marlilu and to the immigrant lord of Malaka. Besides, the rest of the story of the Melus war confirms the earlier myth that it is through marriage with a lady of Marlilu that

1

The latest is Bernova, a compiler [1964:112-26]. The term feudal has, after all, received so many extensions that its uses can hardly be considered worth disputing.

the lord of Malaka established himself as a ruler in the place.

What this Melus population may have actually consisted of is difficult to tell,¹ but their autochthonous character appears through the powers attributed to them in the body of beliefs concerning them. One of these characteristic powers was their mastery of the crocodiles which, it is said they were able to use at will to cross rivers and sounds and in other stratagems. They are also believed to have held what is described as an exclusive right of making fire and obtaining hot water, so that the Tetun, or at least those with whom my Tetun informants identified themselves, had to purchase all the fire

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Vroklage had been told that there were Melus inhabitants left at two villages of Lasiolat, e.g. Mota Ain and Aikameliren [1952-3, I:15] and found nothing particular about their culture and outlook. But he was misled by the fact that in these two villages, as ~~it~~ is the case ⁱⁿ of three or four others in the south plain (Kateri, Nataraen Uma Fatik, Tabene-Matai), some houses have been devoted to the cult of Melus ancestors. A special cult is still rendered to the spirits of these first owners of the soil in houses which consequently bear the name of Uma Melus. Even if their inhabitants are themselves sometimes referred to as Melus, it does not follow that their body measurements can reveal the racial origin of the mythical Melus.

The land rights of the villages of Kateri and Kletek are only slightly more definite. They are more or less a direct consequence of the ^{alteration}~~alternance~~ of residence of Nai Bot between Laran at the foothill (Fohohun) and Laran at the seaside (Aintasi) already referred to. It seems that only the villages concerned with court ceremonial and rituals had to move, while others stayed ~~in charge of~~ ^{charged with} watching the land, as it is phrased, thereby meaning the performance of the necessary cults to the mythical owners of the soil. The territory of Wehali is consequently divided into two main zones whose land rights are under the control of the two villages, namely Kateri for the forest of the foothills till half way down the northwestern slopes toward Fatu Aruin and Manlea plus a wide strip of the land in the plain itself, and Kletek for the rest of the land including the 'sea', i.e. the sounds of Maubesi. This division however has little significance at present.

Theoretically, before the opening of any new field not already included in the traditional allotment of a village, agreement should be sought from a council of the lineage headmen of Kletek or of Kateri, according to the case, and a sacrifice should be offered to the spirit owners of the land. I have had no opportunity to see this being done. ~~and~~ The main undertakings ~~made~~ ^{made} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ recent decades were Government concerns (irrigated rice fields at Tabene and other places before the war, some 50 hectares of teak-wood planted in 1950 between Kateri and Labarai, etc.). In such cases the ceremonial rights of Kateri and Kletek have presumably been largely ignored.

The nature of such rights is difficult to assess as they have not been put into practice for a long time now. It will be recalled that the shifting of Nai Keser and his court every 60 to 80 years from Laran Fohohun (of the foothill) to Laran Aintasi (of the seaside) is only remembered by a few elder nobles and historians of these two villages.

The fact that inner Wehali was thus divided in accordance with the ^{alternation} ~~alternance~~ of residence of Nai Keser (or Nai Bot, the Lord who represents the feminine element of the diarchy) points to his close association with the earth, and reduces the question of the ritual control over the land by Kateri and Kletek to that of Nai Bot himself over land. It cannot be said that Nai Bot owns the land and performs any sort of transaction on it, his association to it being of a mystical kind. Nai Bot, lit. great noble, refers to the lord of Laran, the 'female king'; it means equally the earth, thus mother-earth, which, after 50 years of missionary influence, is still taken to witness an oath by slapping the ground with the hand, or called upon when an interlocutor is suspected of lying: 'Nai Bot listens!'.¹

The kind of control which Nai Bot exerts over horticulture is exclusively ritual. Near ^{to} ~~by~~ his capital village of Laran there exists a small square garden of just over one 'are' in surface² where Nai Bot initiates

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The effects of evangelization are nevertheless perceptible. Dualism gives way to monism. An index finger pointed to the sky and the phrase 'God (Maromak) listens', gradually replaces the ancient mannerism.

2

One 'are' equals approximately four sq. poles.

all main steps of the horticultural cycle to open the season, as it were. In principle it is only when sowing has been completed in Nai Bot's garden that the people can start sowing in their own gardens. The same occurs at harvest times, though due to microclimatic differences from one end of the plain of Wehali to the other, people manage to free themselves to a certain extent from the obligation of waiting for the ritual signal. They grow their maize in the middle of the garden and the high stalked sorghum around the maize next to the garden fence so that some of the much awaited maize can be consumed without the breach of the ritual rule being noticed by the makle'at vegetation inspectors.¹ The individual garden holders have also the possibility of cutting off the clusters of seeds at the top of the sets of sorghum and leaving the stalks standing stripped until the ceremonial harvest is completed in the garden of Laran.

It is difficult to check through such a large area whether the rule is actually obeyed by all of the plain of Malaka land holders, but the simulation of obedience is fairly widespread in Wehali, particularly at the foothill (Fohohun). In the hill region on the other hand, there may be from a few days to a couple of weeks difference in reaping time, the ritual signal being given by a similar procedure in the garden of Liurai

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They are vegetation inspectors, functionaries who are appointed yearly by the Nai, one in each village. M.ak-le'at, lit. who sees, who keeps an eye on, cf. Malay me-lihat-i, to inspect.

at Builaran in Fatu Aruin. Builaran is the village where Liurai has his ritual house, the one of masculine character.¹

Nai Bot's garden at Laran is square and it is known as to'os etu kukun, lit. garden noble dark. In contrast, that of Liurai at Builaran is round and its name is to'os etu roman, lit. garden noble clear. This is one of the most striking examples of the antithetic dualism whereby this society symbolically extends the opposition of the sexes to the totality of its order.

Next to this 'super owner' of the land, Nai Bot, who is so much identified with the land itself, are the villages which are in this respect merely local collections of users. Every village or complex of villages as that of Betun together with Umakatahan, Lafoun, Barama, numbering about 700 inhabitants, that of Kletek and Suai, nearly 1,500, or that of Kamanasa, Fatisin, Sukabihanawa and Labarai, totalling 825, is surrounded irregularly by the land they hold in common for grazing and for individual crop-farming. The distribution of the land used for farming, in the case of village complexes, is irregular in shape because each component village exploits the sector of land which is nearest to itself, and the component villages greatly vary in numbers. Betun, the original village, not the ketjamatan head-town, has only 40 to 45

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The corresponding femininely connotated house of Liurai is at Laran. The masculine house was formerly situated at Knua raik, the lower palace, near Laran, cf. infra chapter on the house.

inhabitants while Umakatahan exceeds 400. The first uses 4 to 5 hectares of land while the second cultivates up to about 30 ha.

Within each of these areas are the individual gardens averaging one hectare. They are square to elongated rectangular in shape, allowing the people to concentrate their cultivated areas, ^{and thus to leave} leaving wider spaces for grazing the cattle. This layout is welcome at present as population rapidly increases, though there was no need to save space half a century ago and patterns of allocation have not changed since then. The reasons for grouping their gardens are the following. Firstly, to keep the garden as close as possible to the village, less than a couple of hours' walk; ~~and~~ this was certainly an important determinant up to half a century ago when much of the bush was yet uncleared and insecurity was great. Secondly, to save in fence construction since a communally built and maintained fence is generally considered as a sufficient protection against cattle incursions for the whole garden complex of a village. Nothing, however, prevents individual holders from building another fence around their own patches of land within the garden complex. This is often done in ^{gardens} those of the larger villages, ^{these} which generally ^{have} meet the greatest difficulties ^{in getting} to get communal work done, ~~for want of~~ ^{because} ^{is} sufficient authority ^{being} vested in the temukun, and there ^{is} grows a proportional distrust in the efficacy of the communal outer fence. The garden complexes in the vicinity of the villages may join together with those of neighbouring villages into broader patches. This is

well illustrated on a sketch map established from air photographs by Ormeling [1957:50].¹

~~The~~ Rights over land, subject to the abovementioned rights of the Nai, ^{are held by} ~~is the right~~ of the first user of the land. It is rare to see a new patch of land being brought into cultivation which does not bear some signs of previous work. ~~According to the aspect of~~ These signs ^{affect the behaviour of anyone} ~~variously circumstances may arise for one~~ who contemplates bringing a given patch of land under cultivation.

Firstly, there ^{may be} ~~are~~ barely visible signs which indicate that a village had its gardens here, and for ~~a one~~ reason or another the village has moved or disappeared. If so, it is usually sufficient to seek advice from the local makoan, as to where in the projected garden, and to which of the names of the ancient owners the prospective user will have to make his ritual offerings of betel leaves and areca nut slices. The descendants of the previous owners may have been extinct or may have moved far away so that no claim is likely to be formulated regarding the land but failure to perform the offerings properly, it is believed, would nonetheless result in supernatural punishment.

Secondly, the signs of previous usage ^{may be} ~~are~~ more evident and the owner of the land or his fukun affiliation ~~is~~ ^{may be} known. Authorization must then be sought from either the man himself, the head of his fukun or both, to make sure that the piece of land is not needed. There is of course here a variable value which the previous owner or his surviving fellow clansmen may attach to the plot

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Partly used in the drawing of map of Central Malaka p. 7 above.

and its effect may range from refusal to allow the ground to be used by the applicant to what practically amounts to a free handing over. In the latter case, one silver coin would be a sufficient token to be given to the previous user; in most cases in addition to the silver florin, the transaction has to be ratified by a meal taken in common with a couple of kinsmen from each party on the spot itself. This would consist of the meat of a roasted goat, piglet or chicken washed down with a bottle or two of palm brandy. Moreover, a handful of betel leaves and areca nuts would be necessary mostly for immediate consumption but also to be put inside the house of the previous user on the garret close by the front post of the house. This offering to the ancestral spirits of the house is meant to notify them of the change in land usage.

Most commonly land has been nearly in continuous use for generations by a house or matrilineage, and no transfer has ever taken place between such units. It is only the users within the units who change. When a young boy begins his independent horticultural life at about 14 to 16 years of age, he is given one plot which has been out of use for some time from among those which his brothers or mother's brothers have ceased to cultivate after having married out, or those which have ^{lain} ~~laid~~ fallow since the death of either of his mother's father, own father or mother's sister's husbands.

In his turn, at marriage, the young man will give up his garden and he will be given a new one to work by his affines from among those available to them at the time.

Land is not sold and there is neither speculation on its value in cash nor in practice any question of rent. This does not mean that there is no competition over land or ~~contestation~~^{disputation} of land rights.

There have been a number of examples of this in recent years (1961 and 1963) when one village, Kletek, made several attempts to cut off the access of another village, Suai, to a wide portion of common grazing space. These two villages are extremely close to each other, but Kletek is called Kletek rain nain, i.e. land lord, while the settling of Suai at this place in the plain of Wehali (only dates from their immigration from ~~the~~ Portuguese territory in 1911-12. As first user of the land Kletek rain nain village claims to have predominant rights based on ~~antiority~~^{Seniority} over Suai. This is disputed by Suai villagers who claim that they have equal rights to those of Kletek for they left Wehali in a mythical past to occupy the plain of Tafara estuary only to comply with the orders of the lords of Wehali of the time. Consequently, they resent being called fugitives (malaik) or new comers, since they ~~were~~^{also} ~~at the origin~~^{originally} also first users of this soil of Wehali. Most of all they resent ~~having their~~^{disputed} equal land rights on the ground of their flight of 1911-12.

Kletek's stratagem was to fence off a strip of land and to start digging it up for farming in order to force Suai to give up their own gardens if they were to retain free access to this part of the grazing space. Kletek action left Suai with the only alternatives of either giving up a large grazing space or opening a new corridor through some of their gardens which were actually being exploited.

There is little doubt that the action of the Kletek villagers had been inspired by resentment and jealousy. They resented the Suai villagers because of the latter's relative prosperity and success in animal breeding. Whereas the population of Suai is just over double that of Kletek, the former possess four times as many horses, and the ratio is seven to one for Bali cattle and twenty to one for water buffaloes in their favour. Suai villagers had consequently good grounds to feel that the fencing off was directed against them, particularly since Kletek people were neither supposed to have real need for it, being too poor in cattle, nor the work potential actually to use all that land for crop-farming. However, after a few days of heated argumentation and a few stones and sticks hurled from safe distances in the disputed area, the matter *was dropped*.

Notwithstanding the assertions of all informants questioned previously on the matter of land rights, to the effect that land is so plentiful and fertile in the plain, and the people so easy-going that no disputes are likely to arise, the incident was ~~a~~ proof to the contrary. Broadly speaking the unsophisticated principle of rights based on ^{*priority*} ~~the anteriority~~ of occupation and use still leaves ample room for competition between land users. However the question involves not only ^{*priority*} ~~anteriority~~ but includes endless historical manipulations with regard to the relative value of the evidence put forward by the parties.

In the above case, yet unsettled, it seems that the party which shows the most stubborn perseverance will eventually have its way.

Section II. Labour

In general work on the land of the plain is not very hard and given a standard rain distribution, the industrious farmer is well rewarded. The initial work of tilling a new patch of land or one which has long been left to lie fallow is, however, a hard one and, the plough being unknown, it cannot possibly be done by a single man. In common practice a man may muster enough close kinsmen to be able to have half a hectare tilled in three to four days, but it needs a forceful personality to maintain the perseverance of five to six men together in face of hard continuous work for that long. Co-operation is at its best in the circle of brothers and brothers-in-law, fathers and sons, but to become really efficient, it has to be complemented by other means.

One method is available to owners of medium to large herds, ^S temukun and nobles mostly. It consists in announcing a proposed day for the work and in bringing to the field one or more head of cattle for slaughter together with betel and areca and some palm brandy in proportion to the expected work force. The food must not be considered ^{as} ~~in terms of a~~ payment for the work done but ^{as} ~~of~~ a friendly acknowledgement to a party which has voluntarily come to render a friendly service to the other. The idea of hire and of reward for work is highly repugnant to the southern Tetun. If the balance of reciprocal prestations is uneven at the end of a day's work, it is not unnoticed but there is no feeling of an irremediable loss - if any - on the part of the working party. On the other hand, if

the owner of the piece of land makes it felt that the balance is even, it would be considered nearly as insulting as hiring of labour. The attitude underlying this approach does not derive from reluctance for a state of perfect balance in exchange per se, but rather from the high valuation put on the function of such exchanges as service for food. This serves either to create or to perpetuate the links between the Nai and his retainers, the Temukun and his villagers, the prominent man and his familiars. In order that this function be fulfilled, it is indispensable that the things exchanged on any of these occasions be unequal in value, that at the outcome, either the Nai remains debtor ~~in relation to~~ his partisans so that they keep the possibility of asking him protection and assistance on some future occasion, or the Nai becomes their creditor so that he may at some other time obtain further service from this work force. The amount of work done and the quantity of food and palm brandy provided are the measure of the balance of resulting obligations. It is evident that a perfectly balanced exchange closes all prospects and that without the substance of these obligations the links would become loose and eventually void, a danger to the society. ~~Now~~ **A** comparison of the necessity for asymmetry in exchange relationships with the repulsion for hired labour points to ^{one of the} ~~one~~ distinctive characters of this society. ~~among others~~ ~~which is that~~

Its members feel the need to be linked to one another, ~~and~~ **A**lthough it seems a sheer tautology it is one which is probably worth stating: It is safer for the perpetuation of social links to have the responsibility

of maintaining them left to an institution rather than to individual freewill.

A second popular way of carrying out such heavy work as tilling the garden is labour exchange, known in Tetun as hakawak, in the present case: fila rai hakawak, lit. turn earth in company. The root kawa of h,a-kawa,k should probably be paralleled to the Malay kawan, friend, companion. In this case the one who has a field to till gathers friends, i.e. not necessarily relatives/ but neighbours and acquaintances made at the market or at any other occasion, and undertakes the work with them on the understanding that the same service will be reciprocated for a similar length of time amongst the participants of the work force, as required. On such work schemes everyone provides his own food or relies on fruits which are not lacking in nearby gardens, coconuts, breadfruits, green bananas to roast, water-melons, etc. This system works fairly well and I have not noted any dispute arising from failure to honour a debt of work. The people put too much value on co-operation to jeopardize future groupwork on their own gardens/by a breach of agreement. In general opinion, five days of solitary work on one's own garden is much heavier than one day's work on five different gardens. Besides, as already mentioned, tilling the ground is not a single man's job. A pair of six foot poles of pointed fire-hardened heavy wood is used. The men line up with their backs to the main length of the garden and drive alternately one stick after the other vertically into the ground until the slightly curved forward points reach a depth of about half to

$\frac{3}{4}$ of a foot and then by lever action they lift altogether a tongue of turf which they overturn with their feet. Movements in unison are accompanied by rhythmic shoutings. The system of labour exchange where the rule is to maintain the amount of work exchanged as much as possible on a parity level, appears to be a contradiction to the earlier inference that the value of whatever is exchanged be kept unequal. But hakawak labour exchange system distinguishes itself in another significant way, viz, the links between the partners are only links of personal affinity and comradeship. The partners alone are involved in the exchange and there are no links of particular significance for the society to be perpetuated between them. ~~whereas~~ In the previous case, there were important pre-existing ties of allegiance (villagers to temukun, etc.) or of alliance (between kin groups) which had to be revived, reinforced and readjusted.

Collectivism in this situation seems consequently to be restricted to co-operation in labour which gives no rights over the crop to the participants. It is limited to one or more aspects of horticultural activity (tilling, weeding, harvesting, etc.) and the resulting harvest is the individual land user's property. Even in the hills, where authors [Ormeling 1957:83-4, Bernova 1964:passim] emphasize the collective tenancy of the land due to the necessity of carrying out the heavy work of clearing and burning the bush in teams, I would doubt if this alleged collectivism is very different from that described above. ~~From~~ ^{I made} a couple of observations ~~made~~ at the northern limit of Wehali, where a hill ecology

Although the Mission tractor and disc plough are in constant demand ~~about~~^{at} the end of the dry season, most peasants are highly critical of its results since it does not bury the weeds as efficiently as is done with their own method. Indeed, a field where turf has been carefully turned over with their digging poles in the initial phase of the work and which after that is regularly weeded, can be kept in production, people reckon, for as long as 25 years without being tilled again. This time span corresponds roughly to a married man's average agricultural career, and it ~~demonstrates~~^{stresses} the high yield of the rich alluvial soil of the plain and the moderately low amount of work needed on it. If the mechanical breaking up of the ground has the advantage of being quicker and less costly at the rate of hire of one measure (12 to 13 kilograms) of maize per hour, it is less popular than one would expect ~~it to be~~ because it has to be repeated every other year or so in order to keep the weeds under control.

Finally the harvesting is done by both men and women of all ages. Apart from ~~their~~^{women's} participation in harvesting and in sowing which is their reserved task, the specifically feminine tasks of horticulture are few. Immediately outside the village fence some women maintain a small plot of land where they may plant a few crops of fast growing or popping maize, sunflowers and tobacco. These miniature gardens are only temporary and often shifted as they are threatened with household waste and sweepings of horse and pig manure. They are not seriously considered as gardens and their output is almost insignificant.

The share of women's labour in irrigated field rice cultivation is on the contrary very great but it has only been recently introduced in the plain, and the progress of its development is very slow, no doubt partly for the reason that it puts too great a strain on the women. ² The discernible tendency is, on the contrary, to ^{pass} have some of the women's responsibilities passed on to the men (cf. infra Section V).

Section III. Production

The south plain of Middle Timor is rich, due to the accumulation of alluvial deposits from the hill country during centuries of swidden agriculture there. The south plain has a dense brown to black sandy loam, the sight of which is moving to the hill people whose gardens are white with outcrops of limestone of coral origin. Moreover the plain receives a second and important rainfall in April-May which allows the planting and reaping of a second crop consisting of maize and mongo beans [cf. section 3 of Chapter I].

Although conditions are reasonably favourable food production is very deficient and inadequate. Comparison of production over a number of years is made possible by the existence of a few government reports on the agricultural situation. Unfortunately these documents do not lend themselves easily to such comparison, the information they contain being in most instances non-homologous.¹ From these documents it

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Two documents [Anon. 1949; Theedens 1952] originate from the Residency agricultural offices in Kupang, another [Daen 1956] was communicated to me by Mr A.A. Bere-Tallo, Regent of Belu Subdivision.

can be figured that over the ten years between 1952 and 1963 at the time of my enquiries, the population in the plain districts of Malaka increased by 1,300 to 1,500 inhabitants annually. In the corresponding period, the maize-cultivated area has constantly diminished by a mean of 390 hectares a year, and the maize production by a mean of 414 tons a year. The yield of maize which was .95 ton per hectare in 1952 had decreased to only .55 t/ha in 1963. Of the 1.4 ha of land available for cultivation per inhabitant of Malaka at the time, only .06 ha was cultivated.

Irrigated field rice cultivation only appears to have increased, from 173 ha in 1949 to 533 ha in 1963, but its yield has also decreased from 2.5 t/ha to 1 t/ha during the same period. If this decrease only concerned the production of rice it would not be too surprising. Introduced about 1930 by the Dutch administration, irrigated field rice has almost ever since been considered as a forced labour crop, particularly so after the Japanese interim when compulsion and ^{the threat of} violence were the main incentives to cultivate rice. The land and the people were then efficiently organized to this effect and could supply food for some 5,000 Japanese troops during the three years of their occupation.

After the war, the ^{convertability} ~~cash~~-evaluation of rice ^{into cash} appealed to some of the younger and more educated people who then applied to Nai Wehali for a share of the rice fields. The shares, which ranged from .5 to 2 ha, were given on indefinite lease terms with no other liability toward the Nai than what is commonly due to him for all main crops, e.g. one measure (approximately 12 kg.)

of rice, of maize and of mongo beans. These payments in kind to the Nai, called fohon, the top, were abolished in 1953 at the request of a representative of the south plain to the council of Swapradja, Balthasar Klau alias Au Bot, of Lakekun, ~~and it is~~ ^{They are made} now only voluntarily. ~~that these prestations are made.~~ The rent is thus so low as to be no more than a token of goodwill toward the Nai.

During this ten year period, the cash earning incentive ~~has~~ lost its appeal due to increased inflation. But this is an extraneous reason for loss of interest in rice, a food which they do not consider satisfying. ~~But~~ ^A another reason for declined interest in rice is due to some measure of inadaptability to a new mode of cultivation. Irrigated field rice cultivation, unlike the cultivation of other cereals with which they are familiar, necessitates the gathering of many helpers for short times of hard work, such as trampling the mud by driving cattle around the field, replanting the seedlings, harvesting and threshing. It also requires the organization and maintenance of the irrigation system. This is the greatest difficulty encountered, as the co-holders of a rice-field complex do not belong to a single village but include members of several villages between which there may be no relation other than latent hostility. Even in the most favourable circumstances, co-operation between villages cannot be expected to extend very far in the absence of pre-existing ties between units using the same common rice field.

Traditional co-operation in horticulture does not occur between units larger than the fukun, especially not for such long lasting works as the regulation of irrigation. It is probably because of lack of incentive, ^{caused partly by the decline in} ~~including that of~~ cash profits from ^{the} sales of rice ~~which has constantly been dwindling~~, that there has been no development of a co-operative spirit for an adequate exploitation of the existing flooded fields. Due to the absence of such an organization, parts of the fields are only flooded at the height of the rainy season while others are constantly flooded. A peasant whose field falls in the latter category and who had given up all hope of ^{controlling} ~~containing~~ the weeds, resorted in 1963-4 to sowing broadcast ^{over} ~~on~~ the whole area of his field. ^{He} ~~and~~ let it grow to maturity and ^{to} ~~reproduce to~~ and obtained ^a ~~the~~ final, very scanty crop of about 100 kg. of paddy per hectare.

There are also other reasons for inertia in rice cultivation which have only a partial explanatory value. However since the effective final result is that the yield constantly ^{decrease,} ~~recedes~~, it must be considered that these reasons add up. One ^{reason} ~~of these~~, for example, is ^{given by} ~~that~~ of a young man of Bakateu who had obtained 1.7 ton of paddy in 1959 from his half hectare field but only .5 ton in 1963. His explanation was that in 1959 he had just been married and wanted to show his in-laws what he was capable of and worked hard for that purpose, ~~but~~ in five years this motive lost its compulsion and the weeds were allowed to invade the small field.

These reasons are understandable in relation to rice which, however, ^{much it may be} needed because of the general shortage of cereals, is foreign, unpopular to the people and only used in the context of feasts, for guests or for cash, ~~and~~ The output of dry land produced rice, ~~set~~ apart for ^{that requires to meet} the first two needs, has been fairly steady, ~~where~~ The situation becomes serious ^{because} ~~is that~~ the maize production has followed the same trend [cf. p. 168].

1963 was a bad year and most of the second crop of maize was ruined by heavy rains and floods. This was however not the case in 1956 when the production fell to 31.5 per cent of that of 1952, and the area cultivated in maize in 1956 to only 47.5 per cent of that of 1952.

The six major products which are cultivated in the three ketjamatan of Malaka (thus including the Naidistricts of hill ecology) are here arranged according to their importance in the three main aspects of ~~their~~ horticultural production; a fourth column shows their mean ranking (1963).

Relative importance of crops with respect to:

	cultivated area	tonnage	yield (t/ha)	mean ranking
Main crops	No.1 maize	maize	cassava	maize
	2 sorghum	cassava	irrigated field rice	cassava
	3 mongo bean	sorghum	maize	sorghum
	4 dry field rice	irrigated field rice	mongo bean	mongo bean
	5 cassava	mongo bean	dry field rice	irrigated field rice
	6 irrigated field rice	dry field rice	sorghum	dry field rice

The first position which cassava gains in the yield column is explained by the fact that the heavy rains of 1963 were very beneficial to this typical hill crop. On the other hand the same rains destroyed the second crop of maize and that of mongo beans in the plain Naidistricts. But there is also a decrease in cassava cultivated area in the Malaka hill districts and it has the same dramatic proportion: 1,060 hectares in 1956 compared to only 409 ha in 1963.

If it is reckoned that the population normally need about 160 kg. of husked rice or its equivalent per person ~~and~~ per year, ^{we can estimate} ~~the estimation can be made~~ that the three Malaka ketjamatan ^{need} ~~are wanting~~ 10,000 tons to satisfy normal consumption.

^{Consequently} ~~It results from this that~~ the people have to seek substitutes for the cereals which they do not produce in sufficient quantities. Fortunately the plain is not yet lacking in sago and the people do not dislike it, ^{provided that} ~~when~~ the period of ^{cereal} ~~shortage~~ from one season to the next is not excessively long. They say:

<u>Ai</u>	<u>naruk</u>		<u>malae</u>	<u>ema</u>	<u>banaka</u>	
stalk	long	(and)	foreign	people	guest	
<u>Bei</u>	<u>Akar</u>		<u>Bei</u>	<u>Maek</u>	<u>ema</u>	<u>rai</u>
grand	sago	(and)	grand	taro	people	earth
parent			parent			
<u>nain</u>						
master						

'Sorghum and maize are new comers, Old Sago and Old Taro are masters of the land'.

Two kinds of sago are consumed, the commonest is akar [Corypha], but another, akararia or akar karia, lit. sago work, has a great ritual value. It has been

identified through its Malay name: Sagu Ambon, as Metroxylon by Father Wortelboer [1955:160]. Only two clusters of this species are in existence in Wehali. One belongs to Laran, the other to the village of Umakatahan (from uma akar tahan, lit. house sago leaves) which brings the first in association to Nai Bot, the 'female king', and the second cluster to Liurai, the 'male king'. The sago of Umakatahan can only be cut once in three years, while that of Laran is cut every two or four years. Occasions to interpret the symbolic connections between the male sex and odd numbers and between the female sex and even numbers will arise in further contexts. At the latter cluster, that of Laran, the ritual felling of the first tree must be started with an old iron axe kept especially for that usage by a fukun of Umasukaer, a village close to Laran, who must then be entirely naked. The work is then completed by members of several other villages who claim to belong to the old Banibin stock. The first tree is offered to the nobles of Laran (Uma Makoarai) who in exchange give the fukun a woman's cloth. Akararia [Metroxylon] is a highly valued delicacy, its pith is white, fresh, soft and sweet and the middle part of it can even be eaten raw.

^{Common}
~~vulgar~~ sago (Corypha), although an ancient food, is still important in periods of shortage which may last anything up to six months. Such is not the case of maek mentioned together with sago as 'master of the

land'. It is a wild itching kind of taro¹ which is still found growing naturally in some gardens and in the forest. Besides the nuisance of washing it thoroughly and cooking it for a long time in order to eliminate the fine spikes of crystals, wild taro has also the disadvantage of ripening at the same time as maize.

No problems are attached to the production of sago since it is neither planted nor marketed. Until recently there was little competition over sago trees, but increased consumption has given rise to incidents more frequently than before, particularly over the trees growing in close vicinity of villages. Lakekun, one of the less densely populated areas of the plain, still has large reserves, but the Loro of Lakekun has been raising more and more objections to neighbouring Wehali people coming to cut trees from his territory, although it is often argued that he is not strictly speaking a rai nain (master of the soil) and that his territory is limited to the northern branches of Maubesi (Aihun).

While it is plausible that irregular work in the gardens is responsible for the poor staple crops, it remains true that though sago needs no preparatory work for growing, it needs a lot of work in its preparation, from felling the palm to the making of the final pancakes. Many sayings point to the great amount of effort needed for such a poor food:

'Na akar bela bot
Eats sago roll big

tali neti no'o '
string fastens kills

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Amorphophallus according to description and figure in Massal and Barrau. [1957:6-7].

'Who wants to eat from a big sago trunk section, gets strangled by the harness' (which is used to pull the roller from the grove to the village).

'Fai akar Lakulo kole be kole
pound sago Lakulo tired and tired

kole nu'u kadaka ida no to'i '
tired as for pancake one and half

'You get tired and tired pounding the sago from Lakulo for your toil you get only one pancake and a half'. These verses serve by their rhythm to regulate the interminable pounding which is done by girls. Boys, at the sago season, unite in small expeditions in the mangrove to cut long straight shoots of hard wood to make pestles which they smooth and decorate at the top mostly with stylizations of a cock's head. Then they present the pestles to a matching group of girls from a neighbouring village.

Although it may seem a time for rejoicing when young girls pound sago in rhythm with their decorated pestles while the young men dance around with ankle bells and the onlookers cheer, the quatrains made after each of the various rhythms show that one is nevertheless conscious that survival is at stake. This is the case in the following, a mocking lullaby to Leki Laku which is the name given here to the long trough-shaped mortar.

'Tatiti Leki Laku la nano:k
Dandle Leki Laku not keeps silent

dadoko Leki Laku la nano:k
rock Leki Laku not keeps silent

Leki Laku uan ha'u tula lia fatik
Leki Laku child I load e.g. word place
on a horse

Leki Laku uan ha'u ka'e lia fatik'
Leki Laku child I put on the word place
shoulder

'I rock Leki Laku but that does not keep him quiet, on the child Leki Laku rest all my hopes'.

Whatever the shortcomings in production, maize, (batar malae in Tetun i.e. the foreign cereal), is the foremost concern and food of the peoples of Malaka and of Timor as well. The history of its introduction to this part of the world is not much elucidated by the myth of Bei Malae Kiak, Taek Rai Malaka's father, who gave himself in sacrifice to provide the newcomers with the necessary seeds, and from whom the grain derived its name, according to this popular etymology.

In accordance with the table on p.171 above, sorghum comes in second position in Wehali and Wewiku, but it is almost unknown in the hills. It is called batar ai naruk, lit. cereal with long foot or stalk, and also batar naan tasi, lit. cereal flesh sea, because it is said that the first seeds have been found in the belly of a fish.

The third important crop of Wehali is the mongo bean or green gram [Phaseolus radiatus] called in Tetun fore modo Wehali, or simply fore Wehali, so much it is associated with Wehali. Until quite recently it has been cultivated exclusively in the south plain of middle Timor, including the plain of Suai in Portuguese territory, although the rest of the south coast (Amanatun, Amanuban, for instance) receives about the same amount of rainfall at the beginning of the east monsoon in April-May. Similarly in the hill country of Belu, the dry monsoon has always brought a small amount of rainfall in July which is only now used for growing a small crop of this species of beans. But it is Wehali which is considered as the ritual owner of this particular crop. Its

cultivation is hazardous in the sense that as a cash crop which fetches good prices, often sold before it is sown, it frequently leaves the peasants unable to supply the quota sought by the Chinese collectors of agricultural products. In Wehali, ^{the} sowing time of the beans is strictly determined by the rise of the Pleiades, called for this reason fore nain, the masters or the lords of the bean.¹

If cassava (feuk) comes second in importance by mean ranking ^{average} the six products of agriculture of Malaka taken as a whole, [cf. table on p.171.], it is because in the hills the opportunities are less favourable and only one crop of maize and one of cassava are grown there. The conditions being harder, the people are in the habit of being more provident, especially concerning cassava, ^{which} ~~which~~ ^{is} is a safe plant in the sense that once started it benefits from the slightest rainfall and is able to resist long spells of drought. In the plain where the people are accustomed to high yields on minimal garden areas, such a humble food as cassava is ignored and scarcely planted in a corner of the garden. It must also be noted that the hill country being devoid of sago the people have only cassava to rely upon to carry them over till the next maize crop.

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The Pleiades are not alone involved in the myths which concern the mongo beans. In their rise, the Pleiades are preceded by the square of Pegasus, followed by the triangle of the Hyades, by the three stars of Orion's belt, and finally by the three most conspicuous stars of the winter morning, Sirius in the middle, Procyon and Canopus on either side, all playing a role in the myth.

The principal crop in both regions is maize, but the secondary crops differ between the hill and the plain regions. The difference is ecologically determined for sorghum which does not grow well and for sago which does not grow at all in the hills. But as regards mongo beans and cassava their distribution is not entirely tied to local conditions of soil, climate, etc. Mongo beans are only cultivated in the plain¹ because it is believed that they have only been introduced there (on the beach by Mota Dikin) by the 'lords of the beans' and not in the hill country.² I have not been told of any similar reason why cassava is almost ignored by the south plain people. It is rather as a well developed plant in the hills than a poorly developed one in the plain that it must be considered, more particularly so, as already mentioned, because the hill people have no sago.

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With the exception of the recent development mentioned on p.11.

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An unidentified species of arborescent beans, called turis in Tetun, is quite popular in the hill, but it is economically insignificant. It is so strictly prohibited in Wehali and the plain in general, that its existence passed completely unnoticed by me for quite a long time. It is also prohibited in one nai-district of the hills, Naitimu, south of Atambua and north of the nai-district of Mandeu. The common reason for this prohibition is that after Suri Tuan Wehali was beheaded in the war with Likusaen already referred to (supra p.66.), his head was carried about by two war heroes, Teti and Bere, on a pole of turis wood from Wehali to a hill-top, Nanaet, in Naitimu where they planted the pole (all other species of wood had been tried previously but had proved unable to support the weight of the head).

Although ecological conditions play their role in determining which plants are exploited, where and by which element of the population, mythico-historical determinants are none the less strikingly relevant. It is this class of determinants, /again/which/ has to be called ~~on~~^{upon} in relation to another important difference between the two regions which so often display characteristics which, being antithetic, usually become intelligible when put in juxtaposition. This has to be made in the light of the distinction between the male and female countries which has been already made and found to characterize Wehali and its immediately surrounding districts in the plain as rai feto, land ~~or~~^{of} women, and the hill states of middle Timor which were formerly under the control of Liurai Malaka, as rai mane, land of men.

In agricultural matters more particularly, the outstanding feature of the bipolarity of Wehali and its vassal states is expressed in the shape of the gardens. As far as my observations in the hills go, all hill Timorese people make round to oval gardens, while in the plain, Wehali, Suai and adjoining states have square to long rectangular shaped gardens.¹ The same opposition of shapes applies to cattle-pens. As Wehali's cosmic symbolism associates the square and the round forms with the female and the male sexes respectively, it appears that the dedication of male roles to the hill and of female roles to the lowland nai and subjects finds its expression in agricultural ways too. The choice of garden shape is not ~~commanded~~^{determined} by ~~the~~^{the} environment nor by any

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Cf. Airphotographs no.39 for the hill country and no.48 for the plain of south Belu in Ormeling 1957.

sorghum. Maize requires a fairly constant amount of rain so that the ripening of stamen and of pistil is achieved in concordance. If this does not occur the cobs are barren whereas sorghum does not seem to suffer from irregular rainfall. Dry spells delay the growth but do not jeopardize the whole crop.

Apart from an increasing unevenness in rain distribution and a failure on the part of people to cope with the population increase, there is also another factor which ^{contributes to} ~~combines in~~ the drop of food production: the plantation of coconut trees. These have been, if not introduced, at least considerably increased in pre-war times by the stimulus of the good cash returns for copra. People started to plant more coconut trees than they did in the past when consumption was very limited. The gardens of an average area of just about $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 hectare are now surrounded by one row of coconut trees which, when fully grown, cast a permanent shade over the rim of the garden and prevent the growth of both maize and sorghum. The cash profit derived from copra before World War II in a way compensated for the loss of crops but now that transportation has come to a practical standstill and no copra is traded any more, the effective reduction of cultivable areas amounts to a net loss. A few other cultivated plants, however, manage to survive here: millet (Tetun, tora), cotton (Tetun, kabas) and tobacco (Tetun, idem).

In a second season when the first crops have been harvested and the rains of the east monsoon (udan lor) are decreasing, maize and mongo beans share the space of the garden in roughly equal parts. Normally the ground is soaked enough to allow maize to grow up to maturation

but an absence of rainfall is essential for the success of the mongo bean crop. It cannot tolerate many climatic variations. Ideal conditions are seldom met and very often the crop is barely sufficient to provide the following year with seeds.

The second crop of maize is looked upon rather as a complement to the first and does not generally amount to even half of the main crop. The third crop, as already mentioned, is grown in the lowest parts of the plain. In order to reach the moisture and to keep the young shoots from dessication, the seeds are dropped in pits nearly one foot deep. It is called batar ahuk lean, lit. cereal hole deep. The yield is not very significant but provides one fifth to one fourth of the plain population with one of its most prized delicacies, maize roasted on the cobs.

Section IV. Animal Husbandry

In contrast to the dismal situation of their agricultural peasants of the plain of Malaka are successful in animal husbandry. But this is the case throughout Timor, as pointed out by Ormeling, who has also shown that it is attributable to the land more than to the people. Various strains of cattle were introduced in 1912 by the colonial administration which from 1921 decided to import exclusively the 'banteng' cattle of Bali. Bali cattle on Timor reach a very high rate of reproduction where it is twice as high as in east Java and Bali, the homeland of this particular ^{kind of} cattle. Notwithstanding the regular export of meat, and the slaughter on the island itself, and notwithstanding the annual losses by

drought and sickness, Bali cattle on Timor have multiplied by about 40-50 fold in thirty odd years' [Ormeling 1957: 157]. The increase of other animals has not been as noteworthy but the absence of a decrease is worth recording. Official figures concerning numbers of cattle are generally unreliable according to Ormeling [id.:156], an opinion confirmed by A.A. Bere-Tallo in his unpublished monograph, 'because the figures are obtained at the moment of tax collection where people conceal many cattle, ... [fearing] that the taxes would be increased accordingly' [1957:42]. The cattle numbers given by the people at the time of the census taking of 1961 must be considered as more reliable because of the absence then of an immediate threat of tax increase. Bali cattle reported by Theedens in 1952 as 3,655 head for Malaka (the 15 nai-kingdoms) had only increased to 4,803 head in 1956 [Bere-Tallo 1957] but in the 1961 census tables 25,203 head of Bali cattle are recorded for the same area. In 1964 the veterinary office for Malaka, who had no accurate register of cattle, estimated the actual number as being as high as six times that given to census enumerators, a gross exaggeration.

I was very frustrated in my efforts to check these data, e.g. on the number of cattle owned in a restricted portion of a village where I was *accepted*. My attempts to make an actual count were not met with any co-operative spirit and outside the rare occasion when a herd was temporarily enclosed in a corral, I found it quite impossible, being unassisted, to count a man's or a house's property in cattle when it is spread over several square miles of sago thickets, reed and bullrush prairies.

The traditional cattle ^{are} ~~is~~ water-buffalo (kabau in Wehali and karau in Suai Tetun), possession of which is an index of status, wealth and prestige. The animal is

not used in any economically significant way. Herds are left to roam in pastures extending between groups of villages and gardens and are rarely tended for any continuous length of time. Elderly men or young boys are the normal cattle and buffalo herders. This is done especially at times when a cow is expected to calve and until the young appears to be strong enough for both the cow and the young to follow the herd safely and run no risk of being left behind. Cattle are occasionally herded together and brought into the pens in the vicinity of the village when a few of them have to be selected for sale, slaughter, ear- or skin-marking. Nowadays the irrigated field rice cultivation gives an additional use to the pens. Trampling of mud is the only - very limited - adaptation to agriculture to which cattle have been put. A Mission-run agricultural school at Besikama pursues the efforts of ^{the} prewar administration to introduce the plough but the peasant response is still practically nil. Buffaloes and the newly imported Bali cattle cannot be said to be domesticated. Herdboys are never seen to ride a buffalo as is done in so many other parts of south Asia. The buffalo is considered so wild an animal that a beast selected for slaughter is led to the market blindfolded, half strangled by a noose held by a couple of men while a few others hold its legs taut on safe lengths of rope. Some old men, rarely seen in their villages, however, are said to become entirely dependent on the herd they tend and live on a milk diet. As a rule they are not credited with normal intelligence by their people. One old man of Laran who ran 'amok' some twenty years ago after killing his daughter (presumably in an attempt of rape) ^{has been} compelled ever since to follow a herd with both hands shackled in a log of Hibiscus wood.

But in such instances it is more the individual who becomes adapted to the cattle than a case of cattle domestication.

Another aspect of the sexual division of labour and of the contrast between hills and plain is worth noting in this connection. In the plain, herds are exclusively herded by men or by boys and never by women. In the hill country women or girls are frequently seen following grazing herds. This is another indication of the far-reaching opposition of the two subcultures and of their respective association with either of the sexes. In the plain, a 'land of women', male roles cannot possibly be held by women, while in the hills the 'land of men', even such typically men's jobs as tending the herds can be fulfilled by women. It is so, the southerners say, because they themselves honour, or respect¹ women, and the hillsiders do not.

Being relatively indigenous, the water-buffalo is still preferred by people for slaughter on important ceremonies, as for instance the rarely held maize festival of Liurai Kamanasa, but on funeral commemorations, gatherings for communal work on houses, marriage, etc. Bali cattle are used. In Malaka there is now a ratio of 1.8 Bali cattle to the buffalo, a ratio which reaches 2.6 for Wehali proper. The reluctance of the people to market their cattle is partly due to the inadequate facilities for consuming cash returns from sales, but it is also attributable to the absence of adequate transport. This problem has been analysed by Ormeling and no solution is yet in sight although it is the only source of wealth

¹

The Tetun term used is h.a-nai, to make lord or master.

which Malaka could exploit for its development. Malaka has a proportion of about 3,000 head of cattle to a thousand taxpayers [1961 Census data].

Horses were introduced in Timor in pre-European times and the name in Tetun for horse also denotes its foreign origin: kabau malae, foreign buffalo.¹ They are highly valued and on an average one horse is worth five head of cattle. Their numbers are high: one for every two households. The interesting point in respect to Wehali is that the people do not breed horses but obtain male animals exclusively by purchase from the hill country, particularly from Kusa where the ratio is close to one horse to every single household. It is no exaggeration to say that there is not a single mare to be found in Wehali where the sight of a mare and colt, brought by some hill dweller on a market day, causes nearly as much stir among the plain dwellers as a European woman and her child. Wehali people maintain that if they had mares they would soon have them stolen by the hill people, but they admit that they have never tried to own them and that it would be more economical to raise horses themselves than to have to pay for them. This exclusiveness, not readily interpretable, is of the same order as that of mongo beans, although there are physical conditions which tend to restrict mongo bean cultivation to Wehali, but none to restrict horse breeding to the hill. Horses are greatly valued and respected by the men of the plain. They are called metaphorically in some lyric

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Horse and maize, which is also called malae, are not mentioned by Pigafetta who was the first to make a valuable report on the north coast of middle Timor, 1522. [Le Roux 1928: 31]

addresses as alin molin maun molin, i.e. younger brothers of outside, elder brothers of outside. There is a very strong bond of attachment between man and horse, ~~and~~ Contempt ^{for} the hill people and more particularly ^{for} the Buna¹ is often expressed ^{by saying} ~~in the contention~~ that they eat horse-meat.

Nobles do not possess more horses per capita than commoners and the ratio of one horse to every two houses is not only an average but also the actual distribution. Nobles and successful commoners seek out the best horses for which they pay comparatively high prices and engage them in races which may or may not bring them fame and considerable returns in money and silver ornaments (bracelet chest plates, etc.).

Not much value is attached to goats which average not more than one or two dozen in most villages. Some villages as already noted, have reduced this number to nil. The overt explanation for this is that, being able to jump over the fences, goats cause too much damage in the gardens. How pigs are able to dig and force their way through the flimsy fences causing more damage, yet they are not suppressed. The main reason for the diminution of goats rests in belief, ^{which} ~~was~~ ^{first opposed} initiated after the war. In some villages ~~where~~ ^{where} the kdok, diviners or medicine men, asserted that the consumption of goat meat was dangerous to pregnant women, ^{They would} ~~who could~~ either give birth to morons (children crying with the voice of a goat), hare lipped children and/or have a thick sticky sor of milk which, it is believed, would help to produce the above two effects on the infant. The goat meat taboo, which has been in existence for as long as twenty years in Kamana has only started some ten years ago in Biuduk where no goats are now left; and the prohibition is in ^{force} ~~progress~~ in a few

other villages such as Bakateu and Fahiluka. There is no special connexion between these villages. I am not in a position to interpret why some villages have reacted in this way to medicine men's recommendations and others have not. Besides, goats play little part as ritual animals and badu bua, lit. prohibition of areca, an annual convention when Nai and ritual officers meet outside the village fence of Laran to suspend temporarily the picking of areca nuts, sago leaves, etc., is about the only occasion when goats are sacrificed and roasted for ceremonial consumption.

Pig breeding is of greater importance than goat husbandry and falls into a distinct category, as it is the concern of women. Pigs are nominally kept in the village, but being neither penned nor tethered, they are left to roam in and around the village. Their preferred abode is the space under the floor of the houses, which are raised on stilts. Women feed them at dusk with husk and bran residue from the pounding of whatever corn has been used during the day. In times of scarcity residues of sago preparation are their diet. Bonds of a peculiar kind are established between a woman and her pigs. Pigs are fondled, and though they might not be overfed they are cared for in much the same way that horses are tended by the men. Women recognize their own pigs and while feeding them keep a watch around the trough on intruders from neighbouring houses, a strenuous job, since the mean number of pigs per household according to the 1961 Census is 2.5 pigs. The Malaka veterinary officer mentioned earlier in relation to cattle numbers, also ^{thought} ~~estimated~~ that this amount was far underrated, while I have found the number in Tabene and in the northern tip of Suai village to be five to seven pigs per household respectively.

It is a common practice when a girl is coming of age, that is, when her leg and arm tattooing are well advanced at about 16 to 18 years of age, to select a piglet to which she gives special attention. She eventually rears it to maturity (a full grown pig can weigh more than 100 kg.) until it is time for her to get married. The pig is then slaughtered for the marriage festivities, though many more are in fact needed. It is not uncommon to see girls and women seated on the lower steps leading to the house verandah surrounded by some of their pigs crouching or turning over to be scratched between the ears or under the belly by the women's feet. They are the only petted animals, others being declared too dirty. If no particular names are given to pigs all boars receive the name of Leki, while all sows are called Bui, in memory of two characters featuring in the myth mentioned in connection with the rise of the Pleiades for determining mongo bean sowing time. Pigs actually respond to the call of 'Lei', a contraction of Leki. The beasts are always killed by sticking a knife through the base of the neck to reach the aorta, whether it is for ritual or for profane purposes, ~~but it is very rarely that~~ pigs are slaughtered for purely profane purposes, to sell the meat on the market for instance, *only very rarely.*

Section V. Consumption

The observation of the painful food shortage which occurs practically every year shows how the south plain Tetun are each time caught unawares. Things are ^{actually} made worse ~~in reality~~ by their multi-determined improvidence than ~~it~~ may have appeared ^{from} ~~in~~ the preceding ~~pages in~~ ^{disconnected} ~~connection with~~ agricultural output, since they sell far too much of their crops to the local Chinese traders, to whom they are already tied by long-standing debts. They incur these debts by pledging crops, which are already too scanty for normal consumption, in order to obtain two commodities: manufactured cloth and crockery. ~~They~~ Both ^{of article} ~~to~~ fall in the same category: they are traditionally made by women. Although these manufactured items have been for centuries used by foreign traders as barter articles for the natural products of the soil, their use was not very widespread in the population until approximately the first decades of this century and they have never completely replaced the natural industries.

Indeed weaving and pottery are still taught by the mothers to their daughters¹ and there is no indication that either art is being abandoned. A difference in attitude toward these commodities between the hill and the plain people helps to underline the nature of the changes in process. It is notable that the plain people are the less traditional of the two in this respect. ~~The~~

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With the restriction, however, that pot-making is the exclusive speciality of the villages of Lakulo and of one part of Kamanasa for the whole plain, none of these villages being in Wehali proper. (Cf. pp.107-10 supra.)

This is probably because ~~reason for this is most likely to be derived from the nature of the traditional system which~~ did not actually leave the people of Wehali with many facilities, given the peculiar imperialist principle on which it founded its suzerainty: distribute and rule. ~~It results from this situation,~~ ^{consequently,} that probably as many as 50 per cent of the men and women in the plain wear clothes made of imported manufactured material. They wear these however in traditional ways with regard to colours and styles. Fully native, handspun dyed and woven clothes are ^{worn} only worn by the other half of the population, except on festive occasions when the proportion of native cloth worn is much higher. But even on these occasions the beautiful ikat-patterned clothes are for the most part made of imported yarn whose chemical dyes are unanimously acknowledged to be inferior to their local vegetable dyes.¹ On the other hand all hill people almost invariably wear native material clothes both casually and on festive occasions.

The implications are obvious. In the south plain women tend to have part of their tasks transferred ^r to ~~the hands of the~~ men, and by reducing their generic share in ~~the~~ product they increase that of the men. In the hills, ~~in contrast with the men see no reason to take on supplementary things happen in the way of the men, no supplement of burden is to be put on them~~ in order to acquire items which there is no reason, ~~to their minds,~~ that their womenfolk should not ~~continue to produce on producing.~~ In the plain, ^{at a time} ~~it is at a time,~~ when trade clothes

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Cf. supra p.111.

and crockery¹ have decreased in quality and increased in price², ~~that~~ the burden of supplying them is made more ^{a man's} calls dependent on the men. As seen above, ~~his~~ ^{now} production of food-stuff has dwindled to such an extent that none can be sold or pledged without worsening the recurrent food shortage period. Conversely his accumulated wealth of copra and cattle ~~is increasingly detrimental: coconut trees by the shade they cast over the gardens, cattle by their overgrazing~~ is a dead weight in this economy, despite its intrinsic value, because it is unexportable for want of transport facilities. ^{In addition coconut trees have an increasingly detrimental effect because of the shade} As a result the people of the ^{cas-} plain are increasingly consumers of imported goods and ^{the} by the same token, decreasingly producers. The same ^{un-} reason underlies both trends, namely the disruption of ^{cattle} the traditional sexual division of labour by the fact ^{over-} that more woman-made commodities become available and are acquired by means of man-earned money.

But there are additional reasons which account for this worsening of the situation; on the one hand transport difficulties and inadequacies which have just been mentioned and on the other the de facto devaluation of the national currency. There is often a drop of value between the time that peasants sell their products to the co-operative organizations, at fixed and often unrealistic prices, and

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Following these two items, kerosene is progressively replacing the resins and oil-seeds (too, unidentified resin; sukabi, *Schleichera oleosa*; kmii, *Aleurites moluccana*) as lighting fuels, the preparation of which is also the work of women.

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One could obtain five lengths of black cloth in 1955 for one measure of mongo beans, against one length only in 1963.

the time when they get sufficient to make their purchases. Another factor is the devaluation of the island's traditional sources of income. Sandal wood and wax are now practically exhausted as sources of cash. Sandal wood has been declared national property and is now ^{dis}tributed at ^{a price} ~~government~~ fixed ^{by the government} ~~price~~ in paper money, ~~and~~ the demand for it is no longer what it was since the main buyers, the Chinese, do not honour their new gods as they did the old ones with the fragrant smoke of the precious wood. As for wax, the demand has also considerably declined since the replacement of wax in the traditional batik techniques of dyeing in Java and Bali by ^{Candle fat} ~~stearin~~ and printing devices.

It is when cereal foods become scarce that the internal trade is seen in action. At this time, Wehali men go on expeditions to the hills to the most favourable of their trading partners who will give bunches of long preserved maize and bags of dehydrated cassava, in exchange for typical south plain goods: fresh coconuts, salt, but mostly ~~for~~ silver coins and tasan, i.e. bracelets, ^a ~~br~~est-plates, etc.¹ The longer and the more severe the period of scarcity, the more 'hard' money is drained out of Wehali towards Dirma, Manlea, Kusa, Mandeu, etc. It is in the latter districts, where the total output of maize is scanty and the opportunities for agriculture not so favourable, that the 'rich' plain dwellers find their salvation. The people of these districts consume a minimum themselves and retain their surplus until the season when they can bargain not for any speculative prices, but for silver which they would not obtain at normal times. The stern determination

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Cf. supra 'Note on pronunciation...'

they show in their frugal life¹ to keep maize and cassava until such time as it is badly needed by Wehali people, and their interest in the silver which they get in exchange for it, ~~proceeds in the end~~ ^{desires ultimately} from completely different attitudes toward women and marriage. All these features are intimately linked. Men in the plain often say as an expression of their inferior status 'We have no value', and indeed the society there is not centered around them but around women. This accounts for the difference in character of the two culture areas and in their respective attitudes towards wealth. Men in the plain do not feel that they have to produce for their own interest, except perhaps for their immediate ones, since neither their natal house nor their affinal one is their real centre of interest. On their marriage, which entails a minimum of ceremony and no bride-price, men leave their natal house and move to their affinal house where they enjoy very limited rights.

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The plain people have an average of two cooked meals a day, while the hill people have only one, and this is often restricted to a couple of roasted cobs of maize. At least this is the ration which they allow to themselves while travelling: a few raw cobs a day, while Wehali travellers carry boiled corn in a stoppered bamboo tube - another opposition which fits into the general male-female antithetic symbolism. It is also revealing of the difference of attitudes toward consumption between the two regions that in the hills mortars are very small, rarely weighing more than 10 to 15 kg., and are so narrow that when used they are tied to a piece of wood driven in the ground. On the other hand, the sand-glass shaped mortars of the south plain, the holes of which are not actually wider or deeper, are large sturdy blocks of mango wood with a large base and an average weight of well over 50 kg.

In the hills by contrast, the whole of a man's economic life from youth to old age is geared to the production and accumulation of wealth, in order primarily to pay bride-price and gain undisputed rights over women (mistresses or wives for themselves, their sons and their brothers) whom they draw to their own natal house. There is continuity in this process and a constant effort on the part of the men is required to perpetuate it. Although the rewards for this effort are not immediate (patriliny), they are nevertheless tangible (virilocality). As a counterpart there is no room for luxury in the hills, no latitude to enjoy day to day life. ^{In contrast,} ~~While~~ the drone-like man of the plain, who ~~does not~~ feels he ^{does not} works for his own benefit - since he lives on the fringe of Wehali society whether in his position of brother or of husband - ^{cons. does he} might as well consume the product of his work today. His hospitality, which amounts to prodigality in times of plenty, is well known in the island. Because of the rule of uxoricolocality the accumulation of wealth is ~~not~~ for the men of the plain, ^{not} an indispensable requirement in order to obtain a wife. Moreover there is no question of him - who has so much respect ^{or} (or fear?) of women - having premarital or extramarital affairs on a venal basis, as it is commonly practiced among the hill people.

To compensate for their subjugated, inferior status in society, Wehali men distinguish themselves from their hill neighbours by their cheerfulness, lightheartedness and ultimately by their lack of a sense of responsibility, as the ^{decline} decrease in their agricultural output gives evidence. Can this situation endure much longer? The impression which imposes itself on the observer is that ^{because of} through this unusual life ethics, the plain people are on their way to

certain pauperisation if they continue to spend their 'hard currency' in silver money and ornaments to complete their sago diet every year. There are no more sources of silver, nor are there easily exportable riches at hand, as observed in the collapse of sandal wood and wax trade. Yet another considerable source of wealth probably dried up much earlier. It consisted of the duties that all Timor vassal states paid annually to 'feed' Wehali.

There is no rigorous historical evidence of how this was done in practice, but in broad lines the pattern of the tax collecting scheme was as follows. It was Liurai's responsibility, with the assistance of Lawalu noble functionaries, to organize the flow of taxes toward the centre (Laran) of Wehali. The envoys of each vassal state, from one end of Timor to the other, followed a specified route to Wehali via a number of intermediary states¹ arranged in a complex network on which informants cannot always reach agreement. Each of these intermediaries added their contribution and at each stage the tribute was handled by the local Lawalu noble who levied his fees. On reaching the plain the tributes were gathered by either of the four Loro - the guardian lords who surround and protect

¹ For instance the tribute from Silawan, a small state between Atapupu and Batugade, passed through Djenilu, Lidak, Naitimu and Mandeu. On reaching Wehali it was handed directly to Umakatahan from where it was in turn handed over to Laran together with similar tributes from other places.

most likely concentrated in a limited number of noble houses of Laran, ~~and one measures~~ ^{is shown} the relative antiquity of this practice) by the fact that this wealth, or rather what is left of it, is at present spread out among individual commoner houses as a result of decades of internal exchanges. The latest instance of this process is provided by the death and burial ceremonies of the predecessor of the present Nai Bot. He died in 1926 and was only buried in 1936. For ten years of continuous mourning every village in turn and other states from all over Timor sent delegations to keep watch over the venerable remains. The maintenance of scores of mourners and attendants every day not only drained away Laran's previous accumulated wealth of silver and gold money, but also in cattle, pigs, fowls, fruits and betel, since the mourning visitors had rights to loot which extended to Umakataha and Tabene also. This can partially explain the condition of relative poverty characterizing these three villages almost 30 years afterwards.

X The complex interaction existing between Wehali and the hill vassal states, as regards the relation of production to consumption, can provisionally be summed up as one heavily dependent on the respective status and roles of men and women in these two sub-cultures. To a large extent also, the notions which prevail in each region regarding the house are in correspondence with the production-consumption pair. Wehali houses, essentially considered as 'feminine' entities, are centres of consumption, whereas in the hills, where houses are men's property and concern in most aspects of social and material life, they are centres of production and accumulation.

Moreover these antithetic characteristics exhibited in the houses extend to most aspects of life in their respective region. It would appear therefore that the localization of the two sub-cultures in given geographic areas has resulted in a precarious balance between the hills and the plain, between the land of the men and the land of the women. It would further seem that it is the more favourable environmental conditions in the plain which have been largely responsible for the survival of the plain society whose salient feature, in this context, is its stress on consumption and distribution.

If the culture of the plain has persisted to this day in spite of its peculiar economic attitude, one must also give credit to local traditions that there existed more than a symbiotic balance, e.g. that it was tipped to the advantage of Wehali. Such was the case as long as Wehali dominated its vassals. The latter accepted dominance by a 'feminine principle' as long as their fear of Lulik Wehali the sacredness of Wehali, was compulsive enough for them to 'feed' Wehali through the institutionalized channels established for that purpose.

Increasing contacts through their north coast harbours (from Kupang through Lifau, Atapupu and Dili to Baucau) and growing involvement in outside world affairs disposed the hill people to ^Sre~~ject~~ their subjugation which, in origin, was largely based on unquestioning belief. Wehali was progressively discounted and its authority no longer recognized as pre^hminent as it had been. ~~With the rise~~ ^{Under} ~~of new~~ ^{conditions} ~~conjunctures~~, the north coast and hill nobles were able to put the traditional assumption of the superiority and dominance of Wehali's 'feminine principle' to the test. They gradually realized that they could well stand on their

own feet, as illustrated by the careers of the Da Costa rulers at the turn of the century, of Loro Bauho Atok Samara, and of the Regent himself A.A. Bere-Tallo, without having to serve an alimony to Wehali.

Adaptation to changed circumstances brought about the 'emancipation' of hill folks ineluctably and relatively smoothly. The original basis of the interrelation between the two types of societies considered was not so much a matter of political domination per se but rather a necessary outcome of the value and belief configurations of Wehali; which in turn were derived from patterns of interaction, at the elementary family level, between mother and son, sister and brother, and wife and husband, whereby woman is attributed a dominant position over man. ~~The inadequacy of~~ ^{was inadequate} this model ^L to effect political domination by one group over the others, as it is evidenced enough by the fact that the Great Timor Empire has not ^{developed} into an effectively organized and durable state. ^{this} ~~is~~ most probably due to the vulnerability of the fiction which underlied the extension of this particular pattern of intra-familial relationships ~~when it was applied~~ on a large scale, i.e. ^{to} interstate relationships. ~~If~~ ^{The} parent-child relationship is a fairly common fiction used to represent the suzerain-vassal bond, ^{but rarely are} ~~it is not so when~~ the elements of this model ~~are~~ specified as mother and son.

Moreover, as far as one can now judge from the accounts of tradition, the dominance of the femininely connotated plain society was not protected by a concrete rule. Apart from the threat of its self-styled mystical powers and the gradual distribution of 'male' attributes and rights to vassal states in order to prevent their

separative trends, there was nothing to enforce their submission to Wehali. However, the surrender by Wehali of so-called 'male' attributes, such as the productive skills, to the hill people has made the former society dependent on the latter to the extent that this sexual dichotomy has left Wehali society, so to speak, caught in its own noose and indigent. Southern Tetun men in their rai fetu, land of women, have not yet achieved their emancipation from the yoke of their womenfolk (and there is little evidence to suppose that they are desirous to do so) ^{and} thus perpetuating ~~ing~~ the socio-economic deadlock which in former times had been resolved by the inflow of tributes. This state of things ^{persists} ~~subsists~~ all the more easily as the ideology of sexual dichotomy is more readily actuated in interpersonal, intrafamilial settings where the roles of the male-female pair are held by individuals - not discrete political entities - which are actually men and women. The concrete rule which has been lacking in the organization of the Great Timor Empire ^{but which} ~~and~~ is extant in the Southern Tetun society is that of uxorilocality, whereby, it is proposed, female dominance is realized and maintained. It is indeed the typical rule of the Southern Tetun society and its only absolute rule.

Wagel: 1 legitimering vanit Wehali gen faktor
 2. Chs. ^{ent} / of nosl. beoording van pabrili

PART TWO

UXORILOCALITY

The main feature of Wehali society has already been mentioned ~~in several places~~ in relation to some of its various aspects which have been examined ~~earlier~~. It is the rule of residence at marriage which compels men to take their quarters at their wives' place. This rule is very strictly enforced. It may even be said to be the sole rule in Wehali society which is virtually never infringed. The few exceptions which are encountered cannot but prove the rule.

Since the terminological clarifications introduced by Barnes [1960:850-866] with respect to marriage residence, little hesitation is necessary about the choice of the term, at least in reference to the Wehali or Suai situation, where uxorilocality is the term which should be applied. Murdock's later definition of uxorilocality - 'confined to instances where the place of residence is determined by the wife and her kinship affiliations, but where matrikin are not structurally aggregated in matrilocal and matrilineal kingroups' [1962:118] - introduces an inopportune restriction, whereas his definition of matrilocality to cases of 'normal residence with or near the female matrilineal kinsmen of the wife' [id.117] is also inappropriate, as will be shown, to the present case where an important child exchange system is found. The exchanged child (mata musan), generally a daughter, is returned to her father's natal house at the latter's death. The mata musan girl's husband will consequently not live with her matrilineal but with her patrilineal kinswomen (assuming that Murdock's 'female kinsmen' equal 'kinswomen').

Since in Wehali and in the whole of the south plain of Middle Timor, the focus is on women as mothers, one might also consider the adoption of the term matrilocal with the Lévi-Straussian etymological stress that: women at marriage reside with or near their mothers. But this is clearly not the sense Lévi-Strauss himself consistently gives to the term and, even if it were so, it is restricted by the mata musan custom.

The same objection prevents following Barnes' (Fisher's extended) method in labelling the marriage residential rule of Wehali with the term: matriuxorilocal which refers to a rule which requires women to live matrilocally and men uxorilocally. The difficulty encountered here points to the fact that two factors underlie the definition and are particularly notable in Barnes' line of treatment of the cases where there is a locus for married life: the position of one of the spouses and the movement of the other towards the first of these (if we leave out the cases where both spouses leave their natal place to live conjugally in a third place). The position of the spouse to whom the other moves does not really concern the rule of residence, or at least it can be maintained that it is not a direct consequence of it but rather of the rules of descent and inheritance.¹ The component of the term which specifies the position of the spouse who draws the other could therefore be dropped and one would retain only the components which

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Keeping in mind Murdock's argument (1949:209-11).

are relevant to the movement taking place at marriage. Uxorilocal would thus be sufficient to characterize this particular Wehali constant, by conveying just enough substance to fit in the category of residence: men live with their wives, without involving the question of the residence of the wife, which is a different matter and is consequently to be covered by a different term. Such a restriction of the term is not gratuitous but it is aimed at emphasizing the pivotal principle which governs Wehali society. It is men who move about; women, when it comes to the question of marriage, are immovable.

CHAPTER ONE

THE HOUSE

Where such a stress is laid on the rule concerned with residence, a particular importance can be consequently expected to be attached to its locus, the house. There are a great variety of house types in Timor, from the imported type, uma malae, found in and around towns and ~~which reveals~~ ^{revealing} the influence of immigrants from other East Indonesian islands, (but mostly that of the Chinese) to the lopo granaries of the Eastern Dawan immediately west of the Tetun-speakers through several intermediary types. The former, uma malae, are generally rectangular with the main door in one of the longer sides, their walls resting on the ground and ^{with} a separate hut at the back of the house serving as kitchen. A minimum of furniture is needed in these but tables and benches are often replaced by simple platforms resting on posts driven into the ground. The lopo granaries of Amanuban and Amanatun consist more simply of a conical roof resting on four posts without any wall. There is, however, a ceiling where valuables and food supplies are stored. The floor of the ceiling is closed by a single sliding horizontal door. People live and sleep on the ground round a fire. A fixed bench which is primarily used for laying out the dead is used occasionally by the living for resting and for storing utensils.

Tetun-speakers, in the Belu subdivision or regency and in a large portion east of the international border mostly on the south coast, live in houses of a common general pattern. Tetun houses are square to rectangular and elevated on stilts. The main door is made in one of the short sides and leads to a covered platform of variable width. An all-purpose hearth is situated inside the house against the wall opposite the main door. The ridge-pole is supported by two pillars which have a high ritual value. The front one is described as male whereas the back pillar is female.

This is about as far as one can go in ~~the way of~~ a description of a Tetun general house pattern. To go further one has to make distinctions between sub-types. The principal distinction to be made here is again that between the hill country and the south plain, which corresponds to the distinction between rai mane, male land, for the first and rai fetu, female land, for the second. In the plain, as already noted with regard to several aspects of the material life, there is another distinction to be made in respect of the house types between Wehali and Suai parts of the population. But there it rests on minor points only.

The south plain house is mainly divided into two unequal parts. The inside part which is enclosed by four walls, is square. The front verandah is a rectangular platform, the surface of which is approximately equal to half the inside square. It is not enclosed by walls, ^{strictly} ~~properly~~ speaking, but is still under the same roof as the rest of the house. This is

achieved by giving the roof a lesser gradient above the platform than at the opposite end. This particularity gives the roof the aspect of a single and hipped gable in the case of Wehali houses, but not so much of Suai houses which have a more balanced aspect. Whereas in Wehali houses the back wall is immediately behind the female pillar and the hearth is immediately in front of this pillar, in Suai houses there is a space between the back pillar and the back wall. This space corresponds to the width of the hearth which is shifted on one side of the pillar. The consequence of this is that the slope of the roof at the back in a Wehali house is quite steep, only the front end being hipped, ~~and that,~~ In Suai houses, although the width of the fire place is not quite equal to that of the front platform, the contrast between the slopes of the roof at the ends is less striking than in the former type.



Section I: Construction

Gathering the material

From the time that a decision is made to build a house in order to replace an old one or to settle a couple whose children are increasing in number, to the time when the first fire is brought into the house, a minimum of one year elapses. The final stages of the actual building have to take place in the dry months of the year, so that delays between the major stages ^{last} ~~are~~ not merely for a few months only, but more often for some years. The preparatory time cannot be accurately stated for the gathering of essential materials, such as the main posts, beams and joists. This may extend over many years, while the people in the house wait for a good crop to enable them to provide food in sufficient quantities for the working parties.

Bei Sere Ikun had certainly been heard for many years saying: 'Next year I shall make a new house'. He had married some twelve years earlier ~~to~~ Rika Leki, a widow with two grown-up daughters, and had lived with them in a very small house, together with the two children of their marriage and the two daughters of Rika's deceased sister. The house was also the occasional residence of Rika's younger sister, Iku Bui, and of Bei Bere Keru, their unmarried brother. About two years earlier, Bei Sere Ikun, his wife's brothers - one was married out - his wife's younger sister's husband, Bei Suai, a makoan, and one of his wife's daughters'

husbands, talked of making a larger and better house. The main decision to be taken was whether they would go and cut the necessary posts of fulis and knabu woods¹ themselves in the forest below Kateri, or purchase them. They decided ~~for~~^{on} the latter, and gradually the posts piled up under the eaves and the platform of the old house, as they were brought by Kateri men contacted at the market and at Sunday mass at Betun. These woodmen were given one silver florin for each post of an average of 10 to 15 cm. in diameter, and 6 to 7 m. in length, and half a crown (a Dutch 'rijksdaalder') for each of the two main posts which need to be about double that girth and reach some ten metres in length. The expenses^{came to} ~~reached~~ 35 florins in silver Netherlands Indies money. To these were added the tua-palm trees (*Borassus flabellifer*) which Bei Sere Ikun cut himself with the help of his step sons-in-law. Formal authorization was sought from the temukun to cut these trees which did not belong to anyone. ~~The~~ seeking ~~of~~ authorization actually ~~takes~~ ^{is} ~~the form of a~~ mere notification In such cases to the temukun that the trees are going to be cut, ~~so that~~ ^{Since he} ~~is thus made responsible~~ ~~the latter's responsibility being involved~~, an eventual claim to rights ⁱⁿ ~~on~~ the trees would be directed to the village, and not to the cutter himself. But a dispute about these particular trees was unlikely to arise, and Bei Sere Ikun knew this as well as the temukun himself. Although they are now said to be diminishing

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Unidentified species.

in numbers, tua-palm trees are still available without much difficulty. There is a great demand for these as they are also needed for the making of dug-out coffins, ^{and} of curbs for the wells, and are intensely exploited for their sweet sap. Syrup, sugar slabs, palm-beer and brandy are made from these palms.

Bei Sere Ikun had enough coconut trees to afford to have four of his own trees felled for the beams which join together the tops of the corner posts and those to which the ends of the small joists are fastened above the front platform. Otherwise it would have cost him 150 Rupiahs in paper money in 1963 for each tree; equivalent to one pound ten shillings (Australian) at the official rate of exchange. Later, towards the final stages, one more tree was needed to make the decorated frame of the fire-place.

Then came the long and hard task of cutting, skinning and bringing back from the mangrove swamps nearly two hundred poles of straight, red, heavy wood of about the same length, 5 to 6 metres, but of varied girth. The two unidentified species of *Rhizophora* taken for this use from the swamps are biku and kwakak. The gathering of these ^{poles} takes a long time, they are brought to firm land in dug-out canoes, ^{if} where any are available, or just carried at low tide and then dragged to the village with horses.

Erecting the wooden framework

When all the major wooden parts were ready, a certain day was decided for ~~the~~ erecting ~~of~~ the

structure of the new house at a meeting of Bei Sere Ikun, the elder of the mane foun, new men, i.e. the men married in and actually living in the house, and the two uma nain, house lords, the two brothers of Bei Sere Ikun's wife. Their decision had to take into account two facts. Firstly, that the work would have to take place at a time nearing a full moon phase, and secondly, that it would last three full days. ~~In this connection one might spontaneously infer~~ ^{we might argue} that the construction of the house is thus associated symbolically with the moon ^{because} ~~from, on the one hand,~~ ^{both} the relation generally encountered between woman and the moon on account of the apparent correspondence of the menstrual cycle to the phases of the moon and, ~~on the other hand,~~ ^{also} the strongly feminine character of the house itself among the southern Tetun.

However, although the sun is definitely a male principle, the moon is not so much a female one, as appears from the myth of Onu Muti ('white reed'). Onu Muti is the son of Lakuleik nain, the lord of the mythical island of the dead off the sound of Maubesi, and of Bita Nahak, a princess from Wehali. He is killed by his father who fears his son will dethrone him, especially as the son belongs to the world of the living. After the relation of the murder, the resuscitation and the final victory of the son over his father at a cock fighting contest, the myth tells how Onu Muti is given ^{as a} ~~in~~ reward an important share of his father's privileges, namely, that of being changed into the moon, and thereby having sexual access to all women on earth before their husbands, since the

apparition of menstrual blood is ~~there~~ believed to be the result of mystical sexual intercourse between the moon and women. 'There is nothing one can do about this', I was told by an informant, 'the moon has always known (nola tian, takes already) your wife before you'. Information obtained from women was inconclusive as they did not seem prepared to identify the moon as either feminine or masculine, being content to point out that the moon is theirs ('Fulan te amik è!', which is equivalent to: the moon is ours, what do you suppose it is else?), and that menstruation is termed tur fulan, lit. to sit moon.

Notwithstanding the mystical and mythical inferences, rationalizations exist concerning the necessity of preparing the wood before the full moon and making some of the lashings during the full moon, and it is difficult to decide what truth underlies these assertions. The people say that from experience they do not cut the wood for posts and joists during a full moon phase because if they did the wood would soon get worm-eaten, borers being more active at that particular time of the moon cycle.¹ Also, part of the work, the lashing of the kakes (cf. infra p.230) has to be done at night under the bright moonlight for more verifiable technical reasons.

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Lunar periodicity is known to exist in the life cycle of several invertebrates, notably in marine annelids (Phillips Dales 1963:167), but also in several species of tropical African aquatic insects in relation to their mating behaviour (Corbet 1958:330-1).

The second element to influence their decision ~~on~~ about the time of building, ~~derived from the week being~~ ^{was also affected by the} ~~regularly~~ interrupted ^{ion of the week} by two events: Sunday for mass and Thursday for market, both taking place at Betun. It was then decided to start on Monday because it made available three days in succession and it would not matter too much if on Wednesday evening a few people would leave and go to sleep on the market place. On the contrary, on Thursday, they would not be able to start work before midday upon returning from market.

In the week preceding the work, young men went about the village in pairs. They were the son of Bei Sere Ikun, Leki Kaleno, Rika's dead sister's son, Nahak, and their age-mates of the neighbourhood. They went preferably in the evening when most people were expected to be back home, and announced that the building of a new house (hari:k uma, lit. to erect/ to cause to stand/ to stand, house) would begin in so many nights. The number of nights announced for this as well as for any other gathering, is usually five or three. It can never be an even number. That is, an even number cannot be announced,¹ but being applied

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I noted only one exception to this. It is at burial when the grave diggers and corpse carriers must always be 4, 6 or 8 so that each of them 'has a pair' (no malu) a phrase which also means even numbers, whereas if their numbers were odd, la nok malu, lit. not has pair, the dead would surely take the odd man's life, a belief belonging to a mode of thought which can be termed transempirical, i.e. as is seen in the present example, that it is assumed to rest on experience. 'If p,

(continued on next page)

to nights, it means an even number of days. As in many other cultures, odd numbers are male and even numbers are female. Here also the typical numbers associated with the sexes are respectively 3 and 4, the sum 7 being the perfect mystical number which is abundantly found in every aspect of ritual and in mythology. The Tetun speakers say that they reckon nights because it is easier than to reckon days. It is obviously not facility which has been the major determinant of an initial choice - if any - of their mode of reckoning, but it remains true that to those who are by tradition used to reckoning in terms of nights and odd numbers it is more difficult to reckon in days and odd or even numbers as is done in the Indonesian and other languages.

The question underlying the combination of odd numbers and nights in determining time is complex. By assigning a male symbolical value to odd numbers and a female one to even numbers, the completeness, the fullness of things female, is emphasized; the number four, as further examples will show being best

1(continued)

then q', but the truth-value of the propositions is never tested. It is certain that, even if people could be induced to have a corpse buried by an odd number of diggers and carriers, they would not be impressed by the outcome. It is moreover likely that the fear of death would be so strong as to give the diggers and carriers an oi kiik, lit. face small, a state of 'anergia' which results in clumsiness in their dangerous activities (horse riding, climbing of trees, etc.) and a general state of despondency which, in combination with the former, could well have a fatal issue.

represented by the square (cf. Latin quatuor, four and quadrus, square) which is definitely a female symbol in middle Timor. On the other hand the transitoriness of man's lot is evident in his association with odd numbers: he is the one who is out of the basic unit constituted by the pair, the couple. This notion will have to be further examined in other connections. Thus, though the moon is not clearly, exclusively representative of womanhood, the night, however, is strongly associated with women.

The combination of odd (male) numbers and (female) night for the determination of a date in the near future can therefore best be seen as a compromise to give expression to the fact that although women are dominant over men in certain aspects of the life in the south plain of Belu, men nevertheless participate in the society - men are in fact the dynamic element - a fact which, however inverted the symbolization may be in reference to the physical nature of the sexes, has to be recognized to some extent.

The night before the beginning of the work, most people who had the intention of coming to work presented themselves and began handling the pieces of wood, giving their opinions on its quality and quantity. Some even started giving their views on the place where the house should be built, and others carved the ends of the joists to be assembled on the top of the ridge-pole. Much talking and movement took place, with the intention of demonstrating willingness to participate in the work of the following day. The point to make here is that one will not come on the announced day because one has

been asked to come to work or for the sake of remuneration by way of food provided by the house lords. Most would be ashamed if they should make it felt that they came to work in view of a salary, even if this comes in the form of a meal taken in common.

That night, Bei Abuk Ina Rika (Grandmother Rika mother of Abuk) the wife of Bei Sere Ikun, had put on the garret, close by the male pillar of the old house, five hexagonal pieces of basketwork (hane matan, hane.k, cooking pot, and mata.n, eye or lid), each containing 7 leaves of betel (fuik) and 7 slices of areca nut (bua), plus one rectangular box of the same plain basketwork (koba lor, koba: betel presentation box, lor is the front of the house and its meaning will be examined in later contexts). The koba lor contained five betel leaves and five nut slices plus one silver coin and a small tuft of raw cotton. At about 9 o'clock the next morning, a pig of good size, i.e. approximately 60 kg. in weight, was slaughtered and its first spurt of blood collected in a container (knaban) made of a folded and sewn tua-palm leaf and preserved ^{for use in} ~~in view of~~ libations to be done later.

The first day

Bei Kleit had already assumed the direction of building operations. He was a prominent member of the village, who, having been born in one section of it, having moved into another at his father's death and having married in a third, had through his mobility acquired a special popular esteem, not restricted to his immediate neighbourhood, as may be the case for

'ordinary' people. His technical skill also made of him a man whose presence was always welcomed on such occasions. He was then directing the young people (kma:n sia, lit. the light ones, the willing and obedient) to arrange on the ground four beams to form a rectangle, ^{indicating} ~~and deciding~~ exactly ^{where} ~~what~~ place the house should ^{be built} ~~have~~. The west and the centre of the main circle formed by other houses were both taken into some consideration, and the final decision was taken in conjunction with all the future house members. But it could equally be said that they followed Bei Klei's advice that the house should stand approximately at equal distance between Uma Kotos and Uma Maklaolia, parallel to the first, and face Uma Samatais to the south in order to have its main side-door to the west. Bei Kleit, in his capacity of village architect and expert carpenter, then took two lengths of string made of young sago-leaves and joined the four corners of his parallelogram diagonally and compared the lengths. He had the angles adjusted until both lengths showed that the diagonals were equal and that he had obtained a true rectangle. Knots were made as a record and the strings put aside for later adjustments. The kma:n, the light ones, began the digging of the four corner holes with crow bars and digging-sticks fitted with small spade-shaped irons (badi) and then stopped, at elbow depth, for the time being.

The first four holes were intended for the ksaes lidun^[1] (lit. post corner), the corner-posts which determine the extent of the house's habitable surface, including both the inside chamber and the front platform. At the completion of this important step, Bei Abuk Ina Rika moved to the centre of the rectangle and placed there a small square screen of wickerwork (kleni feto, screen woman) on which she displayed the various baskets containing the betel-leaves, areca-nuts, coin and cotton prepared on the eve of that day. This part of the ritual is known as halo mama, to make chewing.

Secondly, the artisans requested views, mostly of the resident men of the house, as to where to dig the two holes which were to receive the ksaes klaran (post middle/inside).^[2] In spite of this denotation these posts^{was} actually placed at one third the length of the rectangle from the front and were meant to delimit the respective portions of the inside chamber space (uma laran, house inside) from the front platform (labis lor, platform/level, front / male; labis is the same as Indonesian lapis, row, terrace, level, layer, generation).

Thirdly, two more holes were dug, one for one more ksaes laran^[3] ~~that which was~~ midway between the front corner-posts, and the other for the tane kidun (lit. support back/bottom) midway between the two back corner-posts.

[1]

Numbers in square brackets in this section refer to the sketches of the house.

Fourthly, the positions of two more ksaes klaran were determined and the holes dug.^[4] These were in the length of the rectangle exactly midway between the first ksaes klaran holes^[2] that had been dug and the back ksaes lidun^[1] (corner-posts) at a second point two-thirds the length from the front corner-posts.¹

Fifthly, the holes of the two main pillars were dug^[5]. The placing of the front pillar (kakuluk lor, in the word k.ak-ulu.k, the root ulu, head, chief, principal can be recognized) did not offer many difficulties. Its hole was made at the middle of a line joining the two front middle-posts. The placing of the back pillar (kakuluk rae, the latter word qualifies this pillar in opposition to the front one and can be temporarily rendered by 'female') was more difficult and much discussion was involved. The position of the kakuluk rae on the line which joins the kakuluk lor and tane kidun was left to the choice of the women of the house in much the same way as the relative width of the front platform was left to the men. There is no precise ratio to be applied. Women had then to say in their turn how wide they would like to have their side-doors and how broad they would want the step in front of the fire-place to be. Consequently, the width of the side-doors is determined by the position of the 'female' pillar since the further back it is from the

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These latter middle-posts are at the middle of the length of the chamber and the positions of the first middle-posts mark the separation between the chamber and the platform.

centre of the inside chamber the wider the doors will be (see p. 250).

Feeding the Earth

Now that the twelve holes which determine the main proportions of the house plan ^{had been} were made, further digging of these went on, and the four corner-posts and the two main pillars were erected. Some preparatory work had already taken place to make the posts and pillars roughly equal, each in their category, and although the holes were made to equal depth as well, there were some surprises when the posts were put upright in their holes. More digging and refilling had to take place in the case of a couple of them. The final depth of the post holes was more than one metre for the two pillars and might reach 1.50 m.¹ for the bigger houses. As a satisfactory levelling of the four corner-posts was achieved, the men filled the holes loosely and straightened the posts. The two brothers of Bei Abuk Ina Rika then took the basket box-cover (koba lor) containing the cotton and the coin and scratched the edge of the silver coin with a knife over a small bit of cotton and wrapped whatever silver dust might have fallen into it by twisting the two ends of the cotton

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The problem of removing the loose earth from the bottom of the pits is solved by a very simple tool which consists of a tube of fresh bamboo, one end of which is beaten and split. By pushing it into the hole the earth is caught in the split end which widens as the bamboo is repeatedly pounded and more earth is pushed up inside the bamboo.

between the thumb and index of both hands. They dropped the cotton, a leaf of betel and a slice of areca-nut/ at the foot of the front pillar and poured a few drops of the pig's blood from the palm leaf container on it and on the earth of the unfilled hole; then they covered the offering with a handful or two of earth. They repeated the operation at the foot of each of the four corner-posts, starting at a front corner-post and, moving anti-clockwise, ending at a front corner-post and omitting the back (female) pillar. People vehemently denied that even in the remote past a human victim was needed on similar occasions, but admitted that for a nain uman (noble house) a slave might have been sacrificed for the purpose. Little doubt is left about this when it is known that it is strongly believed that failure to carry out this ritual of the posts, known as hahan rai (to feed the earth), would result in the earth taking the life of one of the house members.

The ritual of feeding the earth takes the same form not only as other rituals connected with house building but also as most other rituals performed with reference to domestic and hero ancestor spirits. All proceed basically from the same intention. All amount to placating the spirit of the element or of the ancestor, according to the case, by offering food served as a meal. ~~That~~ Such meals are generally preceded and followed by the offering of betel and areca and ^{or} sometimes reduced to the sole offering of the ingredients of the stimulating quid, ^{showing} ~~also shows~~ the great interest in oral gratification which the people

attribute to the spiritual entities. This feature, indeed, points to the real interest of the living members of the society since it is obvious, objectively, that it cannot be the spirits of inanimate objects (such as earth or the honourable dead) which have this interest. What is more probably being expressed here is the particular oral interest of the living, projected on the entities which they fear. The fear of spirits which these people have is so widely shared by others as well that an attempt to explain it can be postponed. The offering of food and of a stimulant such as the betel chew is thus the preferred means of coming to terms with those threatening powers.

The point of application of the offerings in the case of the driving of house posts is the earth. In the larger context, it is plain that for the southern Tetun, the earth is symbolically feminine. This is sufficiently attested in a number of myths and in less organized traditional beliefs. Learned informants explain that, at the beginning of time, no posts could be driven into the earth, no seeds could be buried into the ground and no corpse could be disposed of by digging graves. The earth responded to such attempts by crying and by tremors. It was a time when the ancestors lived in rock shelters, collected wild products for their food, and disposed of the dead

by placing them in the lower forks of tree branches.¹ It is only when a covenant was made between earth and men: 'Hau ka o, o ma hau', I eat you, you eat me, that men were allowed to dig earth to obtain their food from it, for the price of the bodies of their dead given to earth to be 'eaten'. The truth of the story as an indication of an earlier stage of development characterized by hunting and collecting need not be discussed here, notwithstanding the high degree of probability that collecting preceded the present settled horticultural civilization in south middle Timor. Neither would it be useful, even if it were practicable, to ascribe the collecting stage to an autochthonous stock submerged by immigrant horticulturalists. Instead, it is more profitable for the understanding of this society's motives to look at this piercing of the earth as a piercing, wounding of the mother, that is, as an act of aggression against the earth symbolically associated with woman. Another tradition indicates this kind of aggressiveness which the people feel towards women. It tells that Wehali people have always had knowledge of the proper medicines (fire, hot water and Aleurites nuts) and the right manner of delivering women at child-birth (i.e. the natural way)

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The custom, fairly widespread in the eastern archipelago, of placing the after-birth (alin, lit. younger brother/younger sister) in the lower fork of a tree outside the village fence is explained by the people themselves as a survival of this pristine condition. Why the earth pot is left for the children to break with a pig jaw-bone and why, when it falls to the ground, the pigs and dogs are left to devour the contents, remains unexplained.

supposed to cause an injury of the kind which kakuluk lor, the male pillar, causes to mother-earth.¹

As the ritual was taking place, the four posts, two on either side between the corner-posts, were erected and measures taken towards preparing holes for 16 more posts intended to support the eaves. At the same time, two more holes were dug, one on either side of the house to take the posts that would be in line with the back pillar and determine the width of the side-doors. [6]

The height of the sixteen external posts (tane tehen, lit. support eaves) is left to the discretion of the elder uma nain, house lord. It is a height which will determine whether he will come into the house bent double or not. However, he must not think entirely of his own comfort, for he is a non-resident member of the house; he must think, rather, of the wind and the rain, the protection of the walls and of the front platform where residents who are not members of the house are to sit and to sleep. Fukun Leki Malik, the elder of Rika's two younger brothers, actually measured, as customary, only the height of the middle front tane tehen to serve as reference for the others. The two lengths of string used by Bei Kleit at the beginning to square the angles of the rectangle on the ground, were used again to square the angles at the top of the corner-posts. The

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It will be remembered, however, that there is also a ritual ban on even numbers, but here that would appear to be a secondary consideration. Cf. supra pp.214-15.

coconut-wood top-rails (ksaes isin, lit. post body or post contents) were cut to ^{the right} length to join together the four corner-posts and the four posts, two on either side, between them.

The tops of the two main pillars were joined by a ridge-pole (laho dalan, way of the rats). The ridge-pole does not in fact join the pillars but just rests on their tops where a shallow fork (hasan) is carved, and the ridge-pole is grooved at both ends to fit into the forks. The distinctive shape of the house began to appear when two poles (usuk inan, lit. joist mother) were fitted to join the ends of the ridge-pole to the middle-post of the front, between the two corner-posts, and the tane kidun, the middle-post of the back between the corner-posts. These were looped to the ends of the ridge-pole onto notched tenons inserted in the mortice in the thicker upper end of the mother-joists.

It was only then that the holes of all the posts and pillars were filled and the earth rammed down.

While some of the men were joining the tops of the sixteen external posts with top-rails, others were preparing a dozen other usuk inan and a dozen usuk aman (ama.n, father), differentiated from the former by their heads which fit into the holes of the corresponding usuk inan. As these were held up by the youths, male heads fitting into female loops, males and females alternating down either side, much joking took place. One holding out an usuk aman (father-joist) to the man astride the ridge-pole could be heard to say: 'Here comes the old man, bring the old

woman' - 'Here she is coming'. Laughter might break out among the onlookers when two poles were coupled. This is the only occasion I witnessed when sexual joking was made in public.

The joists were then fastened together by three purlins of ko'at wood¹ which join them at the first, the second and the third quarter of their length from the ridge and are called respectively kabun kiik, kabun klaran and kabun bot (kabun, belly; kiik, small; klaran, medium; bot, large). This ko'at wood must be freshly cut in order to be bent easily at the corners without breaking. They were fastened in a loose way at first. The same day a great number of small joists (usuk uan, ua.n means child) were also tied in a loose way onto the three purlins.

Two buffaloes and two pigs were now slaughtered, in addition to the pig slaughtered to provide the blood needed to feed the earth, and all were boiled and cut into small pieces. The preparation of the meat (beef and pork) was mainly the work of the young 'light' men, done in the open air under a flimsy screen of coconut-leaves. It is only on such occasions that men are involved in cooking and it is done by them only because of the hard work involved. The cooking of a proportionally small quantity of rice (one measure of unhusked rice for more than 35 persons) was the duty of the women. The women had also been in charge of drawing water to wet the vegetable fibres used to lash the framework. Drawing water and, particularly,

¹
Found in the maⁿgrove, unidentified species of Rhizophora genus.

pounding rice are jobs which are hardly ever done by men.

At dusk, the youths who were now exhausted and the older men who had been sitting on the platforms of the nearby houses preparing the lashings and carving the forks, tenons and holes of the joists, were finally given food. After having received several helpings of the meat meal, all were given an additional plateful to take home, with the intention of obliging them to come back the following day. But, in fact, fewer people came after the first day.

The next couple of days consisted in tying more usuk uan, in digging more holes and placing the posts for the lower front platform and steps, for the western side-door, platform and steps, as well as for the jambs and lintels of the doors and the decorated framework of the fire-place. Now, unlike on the first day, food was served more casually to those present, when it was ready and when it was wanted.

Finally, on the third day, all the joists being in place, their lashings were reinforced and finished off. The rest of the food was consumed, not much of it being left, for only a dozen persons were present.

Thatching the roof

A few days later Bei Sere Ikun sent his messengers to all his own and his wife's relations^{V&S} announcing that they would need whole sago leaves for the roof and pleated leaves (kleni mane, screen man) for the wall so that everyone should bring about ten packs of leaves and

ten screens. While these were collected and prepared in the village and in other villages where relations lived, Bei Sere Ikun and his closer in-laws and some kma:n of the house and the neighbourhood fixed the kakès, horizontal rods of 2 cm. diameter, all round the framework of the roof. The rows of kakès, in the best built houses, are only 15 to 20 cm. apart whereas, in the less well built, the gaps extend to 30 cm. or more. The leaves of sago are attached to the kakès to form the roofing. The tying of the kakès is always done by moonlight. This is why, when planning the house, they take into account the phase of the moon. The work is done at night because the fresh, untwisted bark-lashings need to dry slowly while in tension. If this were done during the day, the lashings would snap under the heat of the sun. The relation between moon and lashing would seem to derive from empiric rather than symbolic thought (see above p.212).

After a couple of weeks, when enough leaves were accumulated, the men, about twenty of them, were summoned as before.

On the first day of the thatching, just before daybreak, the two brothers of Bei Abuk Ina Rika stood, one at the front and the other at the back of the house, each holding a bunch of palm-leaf nervures (knor) which they tossed (tuda) over the whole structure. Each picking up the bunch he had exchanged, they tied the bunches to the two main pillars, each to the pillar nearest him. If one or both bunches had failed to reach the other side, there would surely not

THE HOUSE

Erecting order of the posts

- [1] Ksaes lidun, corner posts (4)
- [2] Ksaes klaran, side middle posts (2)
- [3] Ksaes klaran, front middle post and back middle post (2)
- [4] Ksaes klaran, side middle posts joined by the inside boundary (kotan uma laran) (2)
- [5] Kakuluk lor and k.rae, front main pillar and back main pillar (2)
- [6] Tane tehen, posts supporting the eaves (16) plus two side door posts



The erection of the posts on the side-post

have been enough leaves to thatch the roof and more people would have to be sent for more leaves. But, as this was not the case, work began.

Old men cut the leaves into halves and took only the nervures from those which were not good enough. Young men climbed the roof and, working from the bottom along the rows, began tying the leaves, with the nervures, in alternate directions. The women were busy all day drawing water to wet the leaves which had been stored. The work lasted two days; ^{this} ~~which~~ was considered a good performance. This had been helped by the generosity of the houselords who had slaughtered one buffalo, and ^{of} the women of the house who had husked three measures of rice which was cooked with coconut-milk as required for the occasion. One pig might have been sufficient, but then fewer people would have been expected to come and the work could have lasted one or two more days. A family who, descended from a slave woman, had few cattle and little fame, had been doing the work practically themselves without external help. Two men and two women completed the thatching in two weeks of constant work although their house was much smaller than Bei Sere Ikun's.

Inside fitting up

At this stage the house could have been left unfinished for an undetermined length of time (up to one year or two) without harm done to the fame of Rika's brothers, husband and sister's husband. The thatch was in place. But Bei Sere Ikun was rich, being a successful cattle breeder, as his wife's father had been;

and so also Rika's younger brother who, moreover, was unmarried at forty, thus contributing to the household more than he consumed; so the building of the house went on. The three men of the house and Bei Kleit went to the place where two tua palm-trees had already been felled and allowed to dry for a couple of months. They split them ^{into} ~~in~~ several beams which they cut to roughly the appropriate lengths of the front and side-platforms. The thick planks (3m x 20cm x 7cm) were fitted in the house and pressed tight into position.

The planks of the front-platform, in the space between the front pillar and the front corner-post line, do not run from one side of the house to the other in one piece but in halves, separated by a beam which joins the front middle-post to the front pillar. This is a limit, a border, and is called kotan lor, meaning the limit of the front, and is the dividing line between the men. Another kotan, also a tua-palm beam but running across the house, joins two middle-posts and divides the floor of the inside chamber in equal parts. It is the kotan uma laran, and has the function, among others, of restricting the area concerned with things which are properly feminine (child-birth and menstruation for instance) to the back where the hearth is situated.

Progressively, more carpentry was done. They assembled the parts to make the three sliding doors (oda matan, lit. ladder eye) and put them in position in their grooves. They built the hearth and the step in front of it. The jambs of the fire-place (ahi matak rarin, lit. fire eye jambs), four vertical planks of

coconut-wood carved in simple stylized motives, had already been placed. Above the floor, three cross-pieces allow racks to be built at three levels. One at hip height, a second at shoulder height (it is kahak karas, lit. shelf shoulder/breast) and the third can be reached with raised arms. The rack at the third level extends either side of the back pillar across the back wall and constitutes the kahak ahi (the garret of the fire). The fire-place itself (ahi matak, fire eye, but mata.n is also heard) is built on the same side of the back pillar (kakuluk rae or kakuluk ahi) as the main side-door (oda matan rae). The rae-door should be as much as possible - in those villages where houses tend to be arranged in a circle to face the centre - open to the west, with the result that this door alternates, opening either side of the house. The hearth is the last thing to be completed in the house but the square wooden frame, where it will be located, was already being built of four planks of tua-palm wood resting on their edges. The front and the back planks protrude either side out of the square, the longer ends of the front plank being called ahi lala'o, lit. fire not goes. In front of the square, a compartment occupies the space of about a foot between the fire-place and the inside limit, kotan uma laran. This box is covered with loose planks and is called busa tatakan, lit. cat shut (in).

Simultaneously, above the front-door - which is also shifted on one side of the front pillar, the same side as the fire-place - there is another garret, kahak lor. It covers the same surface as the labis lor,

the front platform and above it. Its floor in Bei Sere Ikun's house was made of split sago-leaf stalks, but could have been, if any had been found available, made of areca-wood laths. Similarly, areca laths were intended to be used for the floor of the chamber but crushed open bamboos were provisionally laid upon the cross-beams which support the inside floor. In most houses the chamber is thus floored, with loose laths only twined together with strings but not fastened to the underneath beams.¹ Through such floors most of the fresh air comes into the chamber as well as some of the light. The inside floors have an average elevation above the ground of 1 to 1.20cm.

After two weeks, this work was completed and about two measures of crushed maize and twenty chickens in all had been consumed by the working party.

For the final phase of house-building another three successive days were needed.

Ceremony of the walls

As before, the work force was invited to attend three to five nights in advance. This time, a couple of older messengers went to forward the invitation of the uma nain, the house lords, announcing to some of the nobles and to prominent persons of the neighbouring villages that they would halo lia uan ida (lit. make word/affair small/child one) make a small ceremony in

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Not one nail or peg is used in the carpentry work and other fittings.

order to build the walls of a house (h.a-didin uma, didin; cf. Malay dinding, wall). On this occasion, both Liurai and Nai Wehali were invited, together with a number of ketjaman office clerks and policemen from Betun. The latter were handed typewritten notes in Indonesian, but Liurai and Nai Wehali received their invitation in a more traditional way, the hakbukar nain (lit. make knots for the lord). Until the recent past, a string was left with the noble who was invited on which there were as many knots as nights preceding the ceremony. An attendant of the Nai's house was in charge of loosening or cutting off one knot every morning.

Two elderly men, chosen for their respectability more than for their kinship links with the new house lords, went first to the Nai's place. Upon entering, they lowered their shoulder cloths, normally worn as cloaks, and tied them at the waist, leaving their shoulders and chests bare, in a respectful attitude, half bent forward with their arms crossed in front. As weapons such as sabres are worn hanging from a loop directly under the left arm and usually concealed by the cloak, the basic sense of this submissive, respectful attitude is obvious.

After having silently presented the nobleman with their betel and areca case for him to take a quid and having accepted the Nai's betel presentation box from his daughter or from his wife, the two men talked casually for a while and then, on leaving, announced that on the fifth or third night later they would fetch and accompany (hama:n hakau) their noble guest to the ceremony.

H.a-ma:n lit. means to lighten (from ma:n or k.ma:n, light, lightness) and h.a-kau is to carry between one's arms against the chest 'like a baby', thus to express the care and attention which are due to the Nai. Both verbs are employed simultaneously, as is the case with all ritual phrasing, to circumscribe the actual sense to be conveyed and avoid a precision which would be disrespectful.

Thus, on the fixed day, a party of young men would come, with horses fitted with bells, round silver breast-plates and ikat-dyed saddle cloths, to fetch the Nai and his party. A Nai, for an important occasion, would normally be accompanied by a large party, composed of some of his children and of his wife's relatives and some of the minor personages of her village. The latter are called klosan, which is the elegant term sometimes used for slaves. A klosan's duty on such festivities is, mostly, to sit at the Nai's side and hold his satchel for him. The satchel contains his betel and areca which they pound together in order to present him with ready made quids. They taste his brandy and pour it for him, etc. The Nai would be accompanied by only one or two klosan if the messengers had told him, in advance, that the feast would be given in a rai klot (earth narrow) fashion, i.e. with limited means.

The term of three days, announced to complete the last stage of the building, was a ritual rather than a technical requirement. The house was finished in one day although, in fact, the housemates and their close kin were kept busy much longer.

The required rice supply, husked by the women of the house and of the close neighbourhood in the preceding weeks, reached 6 measures, 70 to 75 kg. Five pigs of 50 to 70 kg. were penned under the house. Two of them had been raised by Bei Ina Rika herself, one came from her married brother's wife, one from her sister married in Uma Kotos and the fifth pig came from her younger married daughter's husband's people. Five head of Bali cattle were brought from the corral. They were all full-grown animals and the length of their horns varied from a half to one forearm in length, hand and fingers extended, as the people reckon.

On the first day the cattle and the pigs were slaughtered and cut up.

Prior to the abolition of daka rai,¹ in 1953, a duty in kind was paid to the Nai. It was known as kelen no fohon, thigh and top. By kelen was meant, that one hind leg of each of the slaughtered cattle was to be given to the Nai but, in practice, only the leg of the biggest ox was given to him on that day.² By foho.n (cf. foho, mountain) was meant, that at least one measure of pounded (husked) rice, representing

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Men from the villages who, in turn, undertook the duty of attending the Nai and government clerks, providing them with free labour. They were, according to a probably pre-Dutch system, intended to serve as the watch corps of the nai-kingdom (daka, from Malay djaga, to watch; rai, earth).

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There was no rule as to which of the hind legs was to be given but 'it was, of course, the right one which was always presented', Nai Wehali told me.

the top layer of all the rice cooked in all the pots, the share due to nobility.

The special value of the top of the rice is, also, seen in other contexts. For instance, in some domestic rituals, water is needed for purifying ablutions. The village well is covered, late at night, with a screen, as a sign that a rite is going on and that water is reserved for this. Just before daybreak, the screen is removed and water is drawn. This water is termed we fohon, the top of water. It is felt that as the well has been undisturbed for a few hours, the lighter and purer part of the water is at the top. It is the only kind of water suitable for the spirits. The top of the water, like the top of the rice, is for superior beings. Spirits and nobles are at the top of the natural and social orders in positions of dominance.

It will be seen later that, in both the sacred and the profane orders, women are recognized as having such a dominant position over men.

On the first day, then, many young men and girls were busy, the girls bringing pots and pans borrowed from other houses and the men fetching firewood and banana-tree trunks, sections of which were placed on the ground (in the absence of stones) in a line of quincunxes, to form a row of some twenty fire-places in the open.

On the second day, the first move was made by the elder of Rika's two brothers, fukun Leki Malik. Early in the morning, holding a piece of wood in the left hand and a bush-knife in the right, he started clipping the ends of the sago-leaves of the thatch at a height

left to his judgment. Begun by him in the middle of the front part of the roof, tehen, this very exacting work was taken over by others, who had to work simultaneously from this point out and away round the house. Left-handed workers were welcome moving right but, as there were few in the village, the clipping in that direction took the whole day.

While the front platform was being cleared as clipping went on, the older men settled there and started making twine. The young men began putting into position the broad lattice which would support the walls of the inside chamber. Then, the kleni mane sago-leaf screens were sewn onto the lattice framework, in several layers, to reach a thickness of about 3cm.

These kleni mane (lit. screen men) were the screens the men had been asked to bring with the leaves for thatching the roof. The screens had been brought in, therefore, at the same time.

The kleni mane are sago (*Corypha*) leaves the ends of which are folded back and plaited together. A raw leaf has the appearance of a fan but, when it is thus plaited, it has the rounded shape of the European lovers tree-carved representation of a heart. The kleni fetu (lit. screen women), however, are made of separated elements of sago-leaves which, checked or twilled, are plaited into a rectangle.

The inside chamber is enclosed by four walls of man-screens whereas the front platform, on the three sides, where there are no permanent walls, is enclosed, at night and during absence, by woman-screens, hanging from rods on which they slide.

Apart from the fact that woman-screens are made by women and man-screens by men - although both can be made by either - it is more by their respective shapes that the screens are sexually identified. This identification of the two basic shapes have already been mentioned in relation to the construction of garden and corral fences. In the plain, they are rectangular whereas in the hill country, the country of 'father-right', the general pattern of gardens and corrals is round. In the houses of the plain, where the sexes are strictly kept apart - women inside - it is thus the man-screens, made and fitted by the men, which serve to enclose the female area of the house, the inside chamber, whereas the open verandah is loosely protected from the weather by the rectangular woman-screens. The reciprocal care, expressed by one sex for the other, may be seen as evidence that it is realized, in spite of the asymmetry of the system, that both sexes are interdependent.

~~But~~ A house is considered finished, before the front platform of the men has been provided with its woman-screens. However, a house's good reputation may spring from the eagerness of its women members to make large and fine screens. Where some houses have young women and unmarried girls, the screens are often plaited in involved twill patterns which the women effectively reinforce with simple colours (black from sooth, red and white from various clays). But should the women lack interest in their fame, the male inhabitants of a house may be forced to make the screens in the rounded heart-shape. Then/ it is felt by

neighbours to be a lack of consideration on the part of the inhabitants of the house for village social life, particularly since man-screens are those which are customary for the platform of garden huts, where men are the 'house masters',¹

Feeding the house

While the sewing of the walls and the clipping of the thatch went on, Bei Abuk Ina Rika had prepared four white shallow basket-covers (kabenuk) and filled each of them with two cuts of boiled beef and one cut of boiled pork plus some rice. Then she had had these placed on the tops of each of the four ksaes lidun, corner-posts. Later, the brothers had two large cuts of the first pig, as yet half-cooked, placed in winnowing baskets. These were brought to the front platform and from there brought into the chamber through the front door. The first cut (hasan no lolon, fork and spring) consisted of the lower jaw and the first couple of ribs. The flesh of the neck was arched, kept erect by the ribs. The stomach flesh had been left when the other ribs were removed. This was placed on the front shelf

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It is noteworthy that the name for garden huts is laen and that la'en means husband. There is a slight interruption of voice in the latter word. This difference, which involves a deviation in the meaning, is comparable to that between fa'en, to sell, and faen, bride price.

Garden huts are crudely built but follow a regular pattern, the striking feature of which is the absence of the 'inside chamber', i.e. of women's quarters.

(kahak lor, front garret) close by the front pillar (kakuluk lor) above the door (oda matan lor). The second cut (kidan, tail) was the rump and the tail. It was placed on the back shelf (kahak rae, back garret) behind the back pillar (kakuluk rae) above the fire-place.

As formerly, in the sexual exchange of screens, between the male and female areas of the house, so again an exchange can be said to be taking place in that the flesh cuts represent, very closely, the male and female genital organs.

This is the minimum of ritual necessary for an ordinary new dwelling house and is known as ha uma wen, to eat the water of the house, a term for which no further explanation could be obtained other than ^{that} it means such offerings to a nearly completed house. The meat of the two winnowing baskets and of the four basket-covers is intended to feed the building material, the wood of the posts and the joists, the leaves of the thatch, walls and strings. The retribution for failing to comply with this ritual requirement would be, as in the case of feeding the earth, disease and death for the house-mates, whose soul-substance would be absorbed by that of the drying and dying vegetable material. The pork flesh was to be left there all day and all night and that evening the prominent guests, sitting round, legs crossed, on the platform (the nobles among them on mats) were served and entertained.

So, late in the afternoon, the tools which were no longer needed were laid on the floor of the inside chamber at the foot of the front pillar and fed (hahan

besi, to feed iron). These were mostly the bush-knives and axes, crowbars and badi belonging to the house members and their close affines. Not all co-workers felt the need to bring in their tools to be fed. The ritual, being symbolic, needed performing with only a few tools which represented all the others. Some pork meat and fat was brought to the foot of the pillar, in a hexagonal basket pot-lid hane matan and tua-palm beer was poured into a small bamboo container aukenu. Rika's brother, fukun Leki Malik, then smeared the iron of each tool with some pork fat and poured some beer on it as well as at the base of the pillar. The tools were then left there all evening to be picked up later when needed for other uses. Again, failure to perform this ritual would result in the iron itself taking from the humans whatever meat ^{was} lowed to it.

At this stage, the house was complete but for the hearth. No fire was allowed inside the chamber yet and visitors and workers were warned against bringing any in, for example a burning cigarette. On the front platform, there was no restriction of that sort and, at night, seed-oiled wicks were lit for the guests, while they were either eating or watching the girls dancing in front of the house and the boys singing court-songs, accompanying themselves on guitars and violins. Late in the night, most guests left, according to etiquette, shortly after the Liurai and Nai Wehali had been escorted back home. All guests from outside the village, as well as those from the village itself, with the exception of close kin and affines who had contributed in providing the food, were given cooked meat, their

lamak tasak¹ (lit. banana-leaf cooked; the cooked meat, in the past, was placed on a banana-leaf instead of a plate) which they had not consumed during the evening meal. This meat had been represented during the meal before each person due later to secure it, by a bone with little meat attached to it (a whole bone for nobles, and a broken bone for fukun or lineage-heads and a few other notables). These bones, with other choice morsels, were put into hexagonal baskets (tanasak) and carried to the home of each guest when they escorted him. These baskets were to be returned to the hosts with betel and areca meant to 'honour the basket', hanai tanasak (h.a-nai, to ennoble), a term which shows, again, the reluctance of the people to price a gift of meat and make a direct counter-gift, so they honour the basket. The conception that the act of exchange is superior to the value of the exchanged goods is very present to their minds. Such exchanges are intended, they realize, to strengthen the links between the parties. Not sending his lamak tasak to a guest would mean that his presence would not be required again in the future. Similarly, returning an empty tanasak would clearly mean that the guest wishes not to have any more dealings with the hosts. Alternatively, the guest may hanai tanasak in an excessive measure, to such a degree that the hosts are put in a position where they cannot possibly reciprocate

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Lamak matak, raw meat, was another name for the prestation of kelen (supra p.239) before its recent abolition.

on the next occasion. A Nai could place a silver bracelet, a silver breast plate or a couple of heads of white or coloured cotton yarn in the tanajak, for instance, thus reaching at once the maximum value which may be exchanged by this means.¹

Thus, the meaning of the expression 'to honour or to ennoble the basket', can begin to be appreciated. By a counter-gift, which accompanies the return of the basket, a giver can seek a rise of status by outdoing the liberality of the partner - within the material limits of the basket. Even in the case of commoners who, in the average situation, tend to stick to a measure-to-measure principle, the root nai, lord, in the word hanai, denotes that the basket itself becomes 'master' on its return to the original owner, in comparison with the status it had in the previous transfer and that, therefore, the quality conferred to the basket is a sign of the assumed dominance of the giver. This is, of course, more noticeable when the partners are not on a par (noble and commoner, public servant and villager), when the honouring of the basket

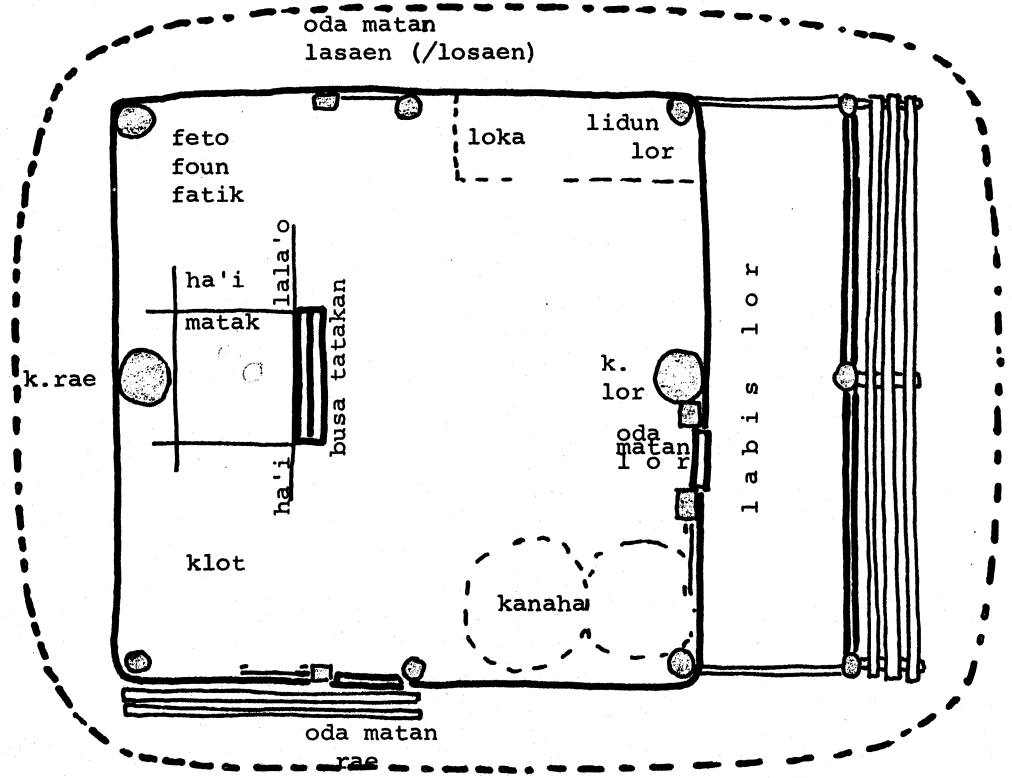
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There has been such a notable case of a ketjamatan civil guard who had received a tanajak full of finely ground maize from solicitants who were involved in a complex and dubious affair. He returned the basket filled with some ten packets of betel-leaves and about three kg. of dried and sliced areca-nuts, reaching a total value of 500 Rp. (i.e. nearly half his own monthly salary). The counter-gift was thus more than three times the worth of the original gift and, clearly pointed out to the soliciting party that no special treatment could be expected to be given in their favour in the pending affair.

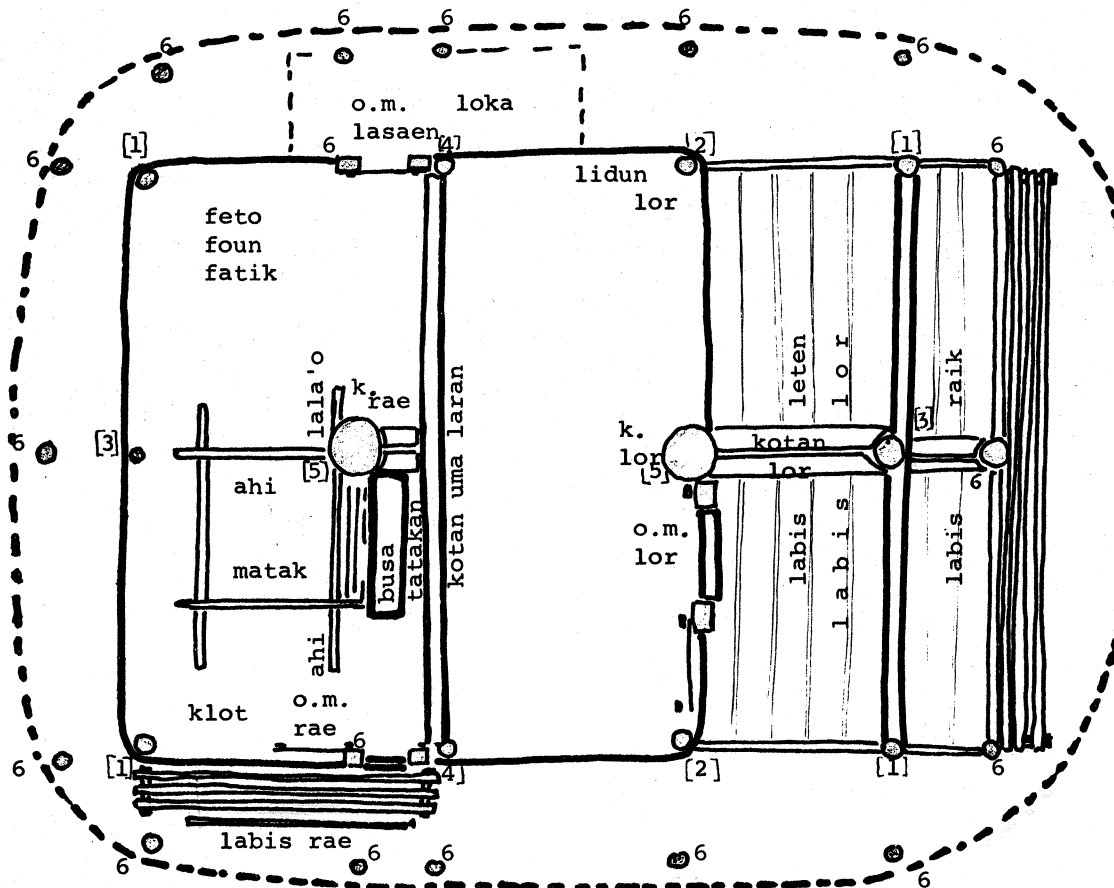
the way to the smoke. Both wicks were lit and left to burn out (they last an average of 20 minutes). As it was primarily a matter of female comfort, that smoke should be shown the way up through the thatch, it may be that I did not see it again because men did not feel it necessary to perform the ritual on the same day as the introduction of the fire. Therefore, this minor ritual may have been left, generally, for the women to perform later and then only, perhaps, if they found that they were excessively plagued by the smoke.

From then on 'normal life' could be led in the new house.

THE HOUSE



I. WEHALI Type



II. SUAI Type

Section II: Plan and Purposes

Wehali: The Gable Hips

~~Now this~~ ^{The} ~~house~~ ^{whose construction I have described} was one built in the village of Suai. I had no opportunity to follow every stage of house-building in a village of Wehali, since none was completed among the villages of my area during my stay. But/ between January 1963 and April 1964/ four new houses of the type just described were built and occupied in the north-west end of the village of Suai, one of them completed in only six months. The general pattern of construction, however, is basically the same in both Suai and Wehali.

The most apparent difference between the two types has already been noted: the steep gradient of the roof at both ends of Wehali houses.

At the back, in Wehali houses, the fire-place is in front of the back pillar, the pillar taking the place of the tane kidun, [3] or back middle-post of the Suai houses.

At the front, in Wehali houses, the hip is present but less pronounced, the front platform (labis lor) being much narrower and rarely allowing men to sleep on it with their feet towards the wall of the inside chamber as in Suai houses. Instead, men sleep often not more than two by two across the platform. Suai men are prevented from sleeping across the house because of the kotan lor - it would be most uncomfortable.

The steeper gradients of the Wehali roof-ends are, consequently, the direct result of the disproportionate living space allotted to women in their houses. Further, some Wehali houses have not even a kahak lor, a front garret, again reducing the lor (=male) part of the house.

The presence or the absence of a garret is not left to the choice of the builders of the house, but is a matter related to the ritual role of the house. Houses known as uma fukun in Wehali, head-houses of lineages, which are in close relation to Laran, the capital village and, thus, associated with the female principle of the diarchy, have no kahak lor. The front wall of the chamber offers complete separation from the platform and reaches into the roof right up the ridge-pole. Thus, in such houses, more pronouncedly feminine, the men dwell under the eaves.

The Kotan

The male division of the platform is not very significant in everyday life. One may observe, however, that its function is to separate the uma nain from the mane foun, the house lords or kinsmen from the new men or affines. The places of honour are on that half of the platform which is in front of the doorless part of the front wall. It is against it, in the middle of the side of the platform, that the eldest among the brothers of the women of the house rests his back, and visitors of distinction sit round the space on that half of the platform. On the other half are the affines and among

them the husband of the eldest woman of the house, who sits generally by the front door, oda mata lor.¹ This door, it will be remembered, is either on the right or on the left side of the front pillar, its position being determined by that of the side-door, oda matan rae, which opens, as much as possible, to the west, whatever the direction faced by the house. One direction, however, seems to be preferred. It is the direction which allows plates to be handed round to the commensals and, after a meal, the broom to be circulated to them without crossing the kotan more than once. This is a trivial matter and relatively negligible when it is realized that, the houses tending to be disposed in a circle round a central place, there is an about equal number of houses which have it either way. An informant took, as a favourable example, the case of his own natal house, Uma Rai Uan, lit. house earth child, at one extremity of the village of Suai. This house faced the two principal nain uman, noble houses, named Olès and Maktane Siku, of that section of the village together with the accompanying uma kakaluk, war-medicine house, Rai Wal, lit. earth neck. Now it was essential for these three houses, he said, to face the south, as it was the direction they faced before their removal from Portuguese territory to Wehali about 1910. Uma Rai Uan, being the most ritually

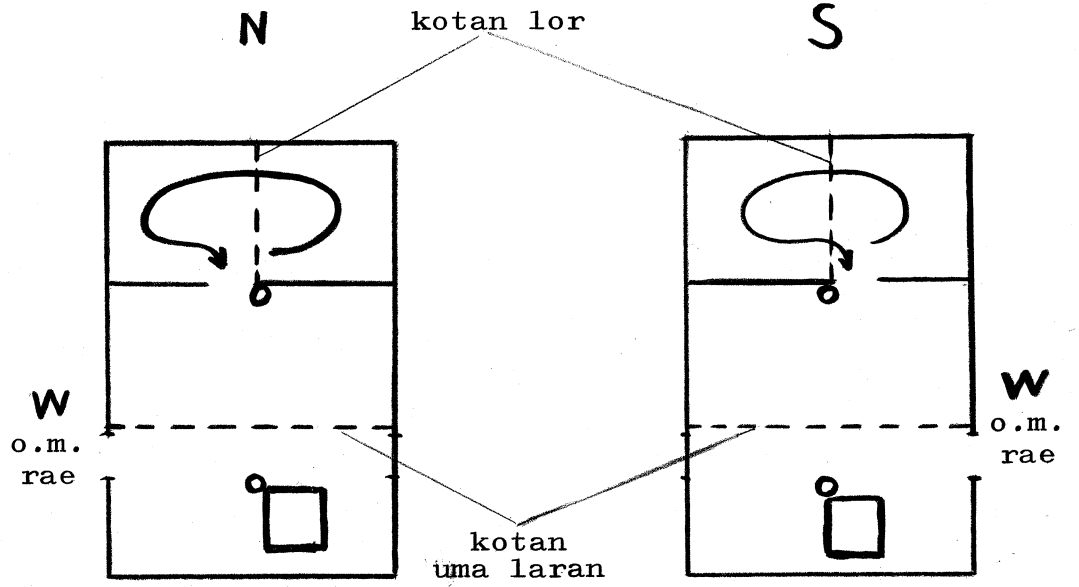
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The sitting position of kinsmen and of male affines, in respect to the doorless and the door part of the front wall, may be interpreted as meaning that the first have no sexual access to the women (their mothers and sisters) who reside inside, while in contrast the affines have such access.

important in the village section, was then ~~across the~~ central place to face these three (normally uninhabited) ~~across the~~ sacred houses and hence face north and have the rae-door to the left. Objects such as plates and the broom ~~being~~ always handed to the right, with the right hand and, consequently, anti-clockwise. ~~The kotan limit being only~~ ^{boundary is} crossed ^{only} once, not reckoning the initial handing made by a woman across the door from the inside, but reckoning the last handing from a man sitting on the platform to a woman through the door towards the inside chamber. (Cf. sketch plan on the following page).

The argument has some value to the people and I often received ~~the~~ confirmation that one way was 'better' than the other, or that there was an uneasiness at crossing the dividing line, kotan, twice. How much such a slight feeling affects the order in the house on the one hand and between houses on the other is not clear, ~~and~~ ^T The fact that Uma Rai Uan and its inhabitants were dominant over those of other houses in several respects might have been the result of several other factors. The influence on the behaviour of the house-members of this inversion of the doors was looked into but I did not find more left-handed persons in one category of houses than in the other.

One consequence, however, of this ^{alternation} ~~alternance~~ of the west side-door according to whether the house is in the southern or the northern half of the circle is that the houses of the first half-circle, those which face north, have their rae-door on the left of an observer sitting inside the house, where the people



The house orientation with reference to the direction in which plates are handed around.

place themselves when referring to these questions. Given the symbolic associations of the rae-door, examined below,¹ it can be said that one advantage of the north-facing houses is that they stand in a position of greater harmony within the total symbolic system than the south-facing houses which have, consequently, their rae-door on their right, a disharmonious situation. The opposition of right and left, although well associated with that of good and evil, male and female, life and death, is not as overvalued as one might expect in this strongly dichotomized society. There are, unfortunately, no further implications to be found in the division of the village into north-facing and south-facing, harmonious and disharmonious, houses, as regards the rules of marriage and descent of their respective inhabitants, for instance. Neither does this division correspond to moieties.

The inside kotan, on the other hand, does not interfere with the circulation of objects during meals because women all sit in the front half of the chamber while eating.

Why Wehali houses have no such divisions is not immediately apparent. There, kotan is not totally absent. The beam on which ~~rests~~ the front wall of the chamber, ^{rest} and ^{which} is, thus, also the threshold of the main door, receives that name. It can be interpreted as a true boundary, but separating the inside from the

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Section III.

outside of the house, women from men, their respective worlds from one another.¹

The kotan is also extant in the hill type of houses where its role is that of an even stricter limit but with entirely different connotations, since there the pattern of kinship, marriage and descent presents an almost completely reversed image of the plain situation.

The East door

Reference to the doors of the south plain house and their significance should be made in order to complete the picture. All houses have three doors but, so far, mention has been made of only two of them, the front door, oda mata lor, and the main side-door, oda matan

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The critical role of this kotan is emphasized in at least two myths. In one of these for instance, a heavenly Liurai, Dini Liurai Loro Leten (loro, sun; leten, above) has two wives, one in heaven and one on earth. The earthly wife, who is jealous, tells him not to play his flute as she is so sad. When he continues playing, she seizes the flute and crushes it on the kotan, with the result that Dini Liurai is ashamed and goes back to heaven. In the context his ascension is equivalent to death although in what follows in this particular myth Dini Liurai endures a second death, also caused by shame. The act in itself is greatly threatening to the Liurai husband who is thus shown by his wife that he will not be received any more inside the house and will be denied further relations with his wife.

Oath-taking by women, in the form of a resolution, is often taken by their beating the kotan with the palm of the hand or smashing a cooking pot on it, while formulating the contents of their resolution.

rae. The third door is called oda mata lasaen, or oda mata losaen. The words oda.n and mata.n offer no difficulty. The first means ladder and the second eye, in the very wide sense of focal point, central point, their combination being: door, that which one is led to by a ladder. As for lasaen¹ it is understood as having two different derivations which make up practically the same final word to designate the same thing. La-sae.n is, literally, not climb (up), and the main characteristic of the third door which it specifies is indeed that it is almost permanently closed so that no use is made of it to climb up the house. Lo-sae.n is also heard and is a contraction of loro sae.n, sun rises, as it is actually the door which faces east, inasmuch as oda matan rae effectively faces west. When the house is being built, the east door stays open and the three doors are indifferently used as needed by the workers and, so it is, until the day when the first fire is introduced in the new house. The east door is then closed and will stay closed until a very few well defined occasions arise, although there is the greatest local variation in defining these occasions. For instance, in the capital village of Laran, oda mata lasaen is only opened at the time of the first shaving of the hair of a baby. In Kateri, as in most other villages of Wehali this door is only opened at the time of a burial. It

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Father Jorge Barros (1963:46-56) offers a different interpretation with which this is in disagreement.

is then opened when the grave-diggers take their digging-tools (badi) and closed again when, their job being completed, they put the tools back in place, but no one and nothing passes (the door) in or out ~~on~~ of this occasion. In the village of Suai, yet other prescriptions apply: oda mata lasaen is not opened for birth or death, but at marriage of an elder daughter. The married daughter settles with her husband on a narrow platform under the eaves outside the chamber on the east side. They protect themselves with kleni feto, woman-screens, to form a provisional compartment (loka) and the married couple have access to the inside of the house, mainly to the fire-place, through the east door. ~~Until after~~ ^{for}, usually, a couple of years ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~unl~~ gather wealth and materials for the building of a house of their own. The door remains open and the couple live in that precarious way. There is one case in Suai where the situation has lasted for more than ten years. Although it is a sign of the man's failure to succeed in his garden work, this failure is not attributed to him alone but to a lack of ksotir, chance, of the same (supernatural) order as that of his wife who had only one living child aged 5 out of five pregnancies, two resulting in still births and two in deaths in infancy.

In Suai there are, in addition, houses where the east door can in no way be opened even at a house daughter's marriage. Among them is Uma Rai Uan, already mentioned, in which also - as in its mythical correspondent in the village of Kateri, the guardian of Marlilu, Uma Bei Rai, lit. house grandfather/grandmother earth - no birth can take place and no

corpse can be laid out. Another house, Uma Kotos, which also observes these two prohibitions as well, has however the faculty of opening the east door, not for a married daughter, but for a curious ritual which is performed only once in a lifetime or so. It is basically the celebration of Bei Mau Kiak's exploration of the island shortly after his arrival with his sister on Marlilu, when he went round the newly emerged land to measure and name it accompanied by Asu Metan Asu Suli, the Black Dog. It is this house which has the duty of preserving the remembrance of the dog. A dog's head is fixed on the top of a pole of some 2.5m. driven in the ground in the front of the east door of that house but under the eaves for protection from the weather. The dog's head, which has been fixed while freshly cut, now addresses a dry silent howl to the rising sun (cf. plate VIII no.1).

About 1950, the people of Uma Kotos decided it was time to renew the decayed head of the previously sacrificed dog. They selected a black pup available from one of the many litters of the moment in the village, to play the role of Asu Metan, the black dog of the myth. They raised it inside the house, preventing it from ever getting outside in the open, fed it with fohon, the top of every pot of maize or rice which was cooked in the house, and serving it to the dog in a superb ancient China dish. After three years of treatment superior in quality and quantity to that received by any human child, the dog was an enormous though timid pet of the house. One dark night of new

moon¹ settled for the sacrifice, lights were put out, first in Uma Rai Uan, then in all uma fukun and finally in Uma Kotos. The dog was led out through the front door on a leash for seven clockwise circumambulations of the house and then sacrificed in front of the east door which had then to be opened. Its head was cut off and fixed onto the pole. Its blood was kept for sprinkling round the house. The body was prepared for consumption exactly in the way it is done for pigs, i.e. the hair removed by burning or scalding, then the meat cut out in small parts without prior skinning and boiled in large pots mixed together with a good size pig. The house members of Uma Kotos initiated the meal and all neighbours, inhabitants of Suai village and numerous other guests came without being formally invited to share the meal inside the house, not on the platform. When it was all consumed, the east door of Uma Kotos was closed just before sunrise. Eating dog meat, although not prohibited in this particular village inspires revulsion and is consequently practically limited to this occasion.^{2,3}

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This phase of the moon is not reckoned as the new moon but as the dead moon (fulan mate), fulan foun, lit. moon new, refers in Tetun to the first quarter.

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Some hamlets, dependents of the Nai-kingdoms of Wewiku and Dato Makdean and resettled on the Wehali bank of River Benenai at Angkaes, have in the past decades gradually taken to dog meat to replace pork for most ritual occasions. These people rely for their supply of dogs on stealing or purchasing dogs from neighbouring villages. Dogs are sold to them privately, not on the market, for 25 to 50 Rp. corresponding to one fourth to one half of the price of a chicken.

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The importance of this dog sacrifice is seen in the fact that several steps of the ritual are taken in reverse of normal procedure which emphasizes its association with the female world. There is also present an implicit desire to push things to the absurd and, further, the pattern of distribution of rights and powers peculiar to this society is also illustrated here.

Many aspects of the ritual, on which informants were able to provide many details, defy interpretation but it seems plausible that the matter is mostly concerned with the remembrance ^{by} ~~of~~ one of the hero actors, of the emergence of the island. The memory of the dog is preserved and honoured through the sacrifice and the communal consumption of its successive substitutes.

The memories of Mau Kiak and Bui Kiak are honoured in other ceremonial occasions. The two women retainers of Bui Kiak have putative descendants who honour their memory in their domestic cults. That of the rattan-staff-of-ten-knots-and-a-hundred-spans, however is not celebrated to my knowledge.

3(continued)

The case of a sacrifice of a black dog in China has been brought quite recently to my notice by a lady of Chinese descent, Mrs W. Taeni. She said that among the north China tribe of the Khek (客), or Hakka as they call themselves, a sacrifice and a communal consumption of a black dog was held at an interval of some years. The dog was also specially raised and cared for in preparation for this sacrifice.

The dog sacrifice does not appear to be of a totemic kind. There is no explicit prohibition against its consumption by any section of the population, none of which claims to be descended from the dog either. The designation of a black dog in the myth and in the corresponding ritual has in itself the character of uniqueness in a country where breeding of dogs is left to chance. Black dogs (meta mos, black pure) are rather rare there, the dominant colour being yellowish. The dog, Asu Metan Asu Suli, is thus associated with women who are, in the plain, uniformly dressed in black and are themselves referred to as metan, 'the blacks', in the special languages used in fishing and beeswax collecting expeditions. The dog is further associated with pigs, as seen in the mode of preparation and consumption of its flesh and, again, by its colour, since pigs, although not controlled in their breeding either, are generally black. Both again are associated with women, since this particular dog, as pigs always are, is raised by women alone. Normally, dogs are not fed, at least not in this quantity and quality and not by women, a fortiori not inside the house. The inversion of the normal procedure is further apparent in the fact that the dog is led round the house for clockwise circumambulations, which is never done in any other circumstances, either ritual or profane, which I know of. It is slaughtered in front of the east door, whereas all other animals are slaughtered at the rae-door for profane occasions and in front of the lor-door and platform for most other sacrifices. That cooking and the meal take place at night is a general

feature of ceremonies which are performed inside the village when it is - as is alleged with good reason - cooler than during the day. As a consequence, it is necessary to choose the full moon phase for most important ceremonies when the moon provides a bright light. But, in this case (hadia asu ulun, to renew the dog's head), the initial phase happens in total darkness till the dog is killed. Thereafter, in the dim light of wicks and dry palm-leaf torches.

After the killing of the dog and the preparation of its flesh, the meal is also taken in reverse order: men and women, instead of being separated as is the usual practice, gather inside the house, the inherent darkness of which has been reinforced by the self-imposed blackout. The inside, darkness, night, the black colour are some of the attributes of womanhood. Inversion is another one. Women's and men's worlds are opposed and virtually the reverse of each other, as appears constantly, even in trivial matters such as the twisting of twine and yarn. Both sexes twist the threads between the palm of the hand and the thigh, but men do it on the external side of the thigh while women twist their threads on the internal side of the thigh with the opposite-side hand and with a reversed movement. The result is that one is twined to the right, the other being twined to the left.¹

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I was told moreover that men used three threads and women only two, but my observation did not confirm this statement. Most of the time men use two threads for their strings but three threads when they make yarn for fishing nets by hand. Incidentally, they make this net yarn by hand (i.e. on the thigh, not with a spindle) when the threads come from ravelled out old clothes and the nets are intended to be used by women (klahat [women's] net).

Conscious delusion, though partly improper since this is not explicitly how the people view this ceremony, is in addition an element to be considered. Quite a few members of the village where the dog's head is enshrined, as it were, profess to know that Asu Metan Asu Suli of the myth was not a dog but a person, some sort of hero. A similar opinion is held concerning the rattan staff used by Mau Kiak in his exploration. Those who know the Indonesian word call it a raksasa, a demon. These people are those on whom rest the main decisions as to the opportunity to hold the sacrifice of the dog and how to conduct the ritual. Although they understand that Asu Metan was a human being, not a dog, it is a dog which is honoured and they honour his memory by treating an actual dog as authentic nobles should be treated. The humanity of Asu Metan is indicated by the way it is slaughtered, its head chopped off and fixed onto a pole as was done in the past with the heads of enemies, prisoners and condemned offenders, but, then, it is consumed as a pig.¹ Ritual behaviour in this instance offers many puzzles to which native experts themselves could not bring much elucidation. It is as if the ceremony had been devised with an aim to do things the feminine way and to push it in that direction as far it would possibly go, the result being situated, not at a

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Pigs are slaughtered by cutting the aorta with a knife introduced through the base of the throat; cattle and goats by cutting open the throat without separation of the head from the body, at least for the killing proper.

conjunction of women's and men's ways, as on other ritual occasions, but deep in the female sinister world,

Further, the dog sacrifice is held and its head is preserved in Uma Kotos, in the village of Suai. This village is, it will be recalled, composed of fugitives from Portuguese territory; but they really belong to the same culture as Wehali, that of the plain of Malaka, and they originate from Wehali. There is now no trace of such a dog ritual in Kateri, the guardian village of the mythical place of Marlilu, where Mau Kiak and his sister had settled and from where the brother made his reconnaissance tour of the island. There is not a trace of it in Laran which is now the capital village of Wehali down in the plain and where the Nai Bot resides and none, either, in all the rest of Wehali. Now the house which preserves the dog's head and conducts the ritual is Uma Kotos. Kotos is from the verb koto, to make a labour prestation to the nobles. The final .s is there to soften, to disguise the true meaning of the house's name. This process has already been illustrated in the case of the name of Marlilu.¹ Uma Kotos, a house of

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Cf. p.83 note 6. There are numerous examples of this kind. Native experts say that some names given on the occasion of a particular historico-mythical event would be too rude for daily use by ordinary people. It is important, however, to retain some of the original aspect of the words. One house of Kateri is called Uma Maraki from ma.k-krakit, lit. which (has a) krakit, or possibly from Uma Krakit where uma, house, is
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servants, has thus inherited the ritual through a long chain down a very special hierarchy. Indeed, it can be said to have been proceeding upward as well in some way.

Uma Kotos, in spite of its having only a very few members, has in the village of Suai a high status due to its important ritual function in relation to Asu Metan. The right and the duty to carry out the ceremony in fact cannot but come from the first place of establishment, Marlilu, or from Laran, or else from another place in Wehali.¹ Suai somehow has acquired the ritual from Wehali and it is Uma Rai Uan which

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reduced to ma, with the loss of the meaning of house. This house preserves the areca-bulb skin container (krakit) used to clean and cure in hot water the wound of a fugitive Liurai who had been castrated by his brother because he had committed incest with his sister (Appendix E).

Another example, more closely connected morphologically with the matter of koto.s is that of iku.s, meaning following, and used in sentences such as: 'Hau ulu.n o iku.s', I go ahead, you follow me. The root iku, in this word is the same as in iku.n, tail, end, last in a sequence and it has to be attired in the disguise of iku.s to be acceptable. Under this form it cannot mean in the above example: 'you are my tail', or 'you are junior to me'. The impression that this is what is behind the inflexion .s is reinforced by the absence of a corresponding modification of ulu.n, head, ahead, first, which is used in this inoffensive form.

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According to the native theory. It is not impossible that the dog ritual has been invented later and that in Suai itself to fulfill other goals than those apparent today. I shall not attempt to disentangle this in the present account.

obtained it in the first place. Uma Rai Uan, as already noted, is the ritual counterpart of Uma Bei Rai¹ of Kateri. The internal policy of Suai is moulded in the same pattern as that of Wehali, as a whole, in regard to the vassal states of Timor. The original Uma Rai Uan, the first in existence, is seen as the mother of other houses and, as a mother would to her child, it gave away the ritual to a minor house, as is evident from its name of Kotos, to increase the latter's status, to raise it to a higher rank, h.a-bot, lit. to cause to be bot, great/big. In the mythical chronology, we have a - certainly incomplete - sequence of the type: Bei Rai, Rai Uan, Kotos, each of the latter being represented as the child of the former. But in the peculiar form which the hierarchical dependence takes in the Wehali system, the original, the first in chronological order (real or assumed) deprives itself of the insignia of power, either ritual or political, for the benefit of the terminal, the younger link in the same sequence. This younger member, Uma Kotos in the present case, is seen in the position of a child, a male child, who has obtained favours from his mother. Gratitude is not only the feeling which links him with whatever is in the position of the mother, it is also mixed with some measure of fear for the mother/feminine principle, and this is what gives the feminine principle a certain degree of dominance in the social order. On the other hand, once endowed with various items of power

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Or Uma Ferik Rai.

and prestige, such as the performance of the present ritual, the Kotos house, despite its position of child, gains a rise in status rank and, ultimately, authority in village affairs, ~~and~~ even over the house from which its ranking proceeds, i.e. over the mother/female Rai Uan house. This authority is, moreover, apparent from the attribution of a masculine character to this particular Kotos house, as well as to other houses like Uma Katuas in other connections. What gives its originality to the system is the contorted way male authority over females is justified and female dominance over males is retained.

difference in pronunciation anyhow is very slight and the clear association of both the door and the back pillar with women's activities and concerns on the one hand and of women with earth on the other leaves very little doubt that it is correct to assume the equation rae = rai.¹

Unfortunately, lor is not explicitly the sky. The term is used to designate the deep horizon where sea and sky appear to meet. Given the orientation of the island, the general direction of lor is thus south-east, which is also the direction where the brief rains of the 'dry' monsoon, udan lor, come from.²

One alternative name of Lakuleik nain, the lord of Malaka's inferno, the sea, is Tasi lor nain Meti lor nain.³ But lor is also seen in the name Rai Lor which is strictly speaking the territory of Likusaen and by extension most of the territory east of the international border. The question of Likusaen and of its migration from the south to the north coast as a

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Martinho (1943:22) writes Maray for Marae, as it is pronounced in the Belu regency, to designate the Buna' people, already mentioned in several connections. He suggests moreover that the name is composed of the Tetun words ema rai, men earth (= autochtones?), an interpretation which is not devoid of probability.

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Cf. p.8 sqq.

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Both meti and tasi in this title mean sea, but meti is, strictly speaking, the portion of the beach which is alternatively covered and uncovered by the sea (tasi) under the effect of the tide. Meti is here used for prosodic reasons.

result of a war has already been examined.¹ So that it can be considered that the present north-east direction of Rai Lor is only an effect of the migration of Likusaen.

According to the local tradition, Likusaen/Rai Lor was situated, before these grave events, at or near the sound of Maubesi Weto, on the sea-shore east to south-east of Marlilu. Another indication, which tends to confirm that the direction of lor is in the sector of the compass between east and south, is found in the juxtaposition in a war song, directed against Likusaen, of the name of Likusaen ^{with} ~~to~~ its poetic double of Loro saen, lit. sun rises; thus, the east. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that, in the village of Suai at least, the two noble houses named Olès and Maktane Siku were to face, to have their lor door in, the direction of the south, ^{because of} ~~but as the consequence of~~ this orientation, ~~was that~~ Uma Rai Uan should face north and have its west door at its left, ^{and that this} ~~was considered as a favourable~~ ^{orientation} ~~and hence~~, it seems that the equation lor = south is well established, at least from the point of view of the sacred noble houses.²

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P.65, sqq.

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The most used and the best known of the cardinal points in the south plain of Belu regency, are loro saen, sun rises, and loro toban, sun reclines/goes to sleep. For north and south, rai ulun, earth head, and rai ikun, earth end/tail, respectively are also given, but chiefly as translations of the foreign (Malay/Indonesian) terms of Utara and Selatan, and they are but seldom used in common practice. Moreover, the people are not so much trustful of the sun's course as of the coast line as I

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Whatever the difficulty in establishing a fixed correspondence of the terms lor and rae with the points of the compass and ^{in finding} ~~to find~~ a proper rendering for them, both are really two poles of the house in relation to which the whole domestic life is organized. Indeed, the house itself is clearly divided into two areas which are strictly identified each with one of the sexes.

The two areas, however, overlap at all times as has been illustrated from the earliest till the last stage of the construction of the house. At first, a rectangle was marked out on the ground and it included both women's and men's habitable spaces. At a later stage, men were only conceded the possession of some of that space for their own use. At the last stage of the construction, when the four walls were sewn on the lattice-work, the women's seclusion was achieved with man-screens while the platform's protection was guaranteed by hanging woman-screens.

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noticed from the surprise of an informant who, on his return from a fishing party at Tae Berek some 10 to 15 km. south of the mouth of River Benenai, maintained that there the sun rose much more to the north than it appeared to do on the coast where he himself was used to go fishing every other day. His own fishing territory, 5 to 10km. north of the mouth of the same river, is on a section of the coast which runs at a right angle to the east-west direction, whereas at Tae Berek the coast line forms an angle of 45° to the former and runs from north-east to south-west. It was obviously with reference to this that he, as well as all those present, considered that the sun rises from different points of the horizon from the different places of their observation.

It is with this phenomenon of overlapping in mind that the destination and use of the two spaces and their doors, oda mata lor and oda matan rae, must be viewed. Consequently, there is no explicit ^{rule forbidd-} restriction ~~for~~ women to use the men's door ^{or} ~~nor~~ ~~for~~ the men to use the women's door, occasionally. But, there is little or no need in ~~the organization~~ of everyday life for either to do so.

Rae-door and its accessories

Women use the rae-door constantly from morning to night to bring in pots of water, bundles of firewood and food. In front of their door, they pound and winnow rice and maize and rasp coconuts to obtain oil or milk for cooking or cosmetic purposes. Here, also, women prepare the dyes for their yarn; indigo (taun), curcuma (kunir) and other vegetable dyes. Ashes and other refuse are taken out through this door, although most of it can be disposed of through the laths of the floor. Bran and coconut pulp are there mashed to feed the pigs, their troughs being placed under the labis rae, the rae-platform. This constitutes the women's area of activities immediately outside the house. Inside, the focus of feminine activities is the fire-place to which the rae-door gives direct access. Between the fire-place and the door a narrow space is used to store a few jars and pots filled with water. It is known as the klot, lit. narrow. This typically feminine corner is used by men when they tie up their fighting cock on the eve of a tournament. Also, when they travel and envisage a long absence, they leave the

cock there, not wanting, on such a journey, to carry their cock round with them.

The place which women favour is the fire-place, sitting on the busa tatakan, the 'cat box', with their back resting against one of the fire posts or preferably (in a Suai situation) against the rae-pillar. In the connection of the 'cat box' there is a story which tells of the rout to which Lakekun was put once in a mythical past. It is there related that a noble woman, Loro Lakekun's wife, could assume the shape of a cat and used to devour the minor nobles one after the other and kept the golden faeces she produced in what was, subsequently, called the 'cat box'. These golden objects had an extremely potent magical quality. A revolt of the minor noblemen put an end to the havoc caused among them and they chased the Loro away and finally beheaded him.¹ What happened to the cat-woman is not related in any of the versions I collected. One commentator, however, declared that she could not be caught or killed, she just nasae nikar oa, i.e. raised herself back, which is one of the terms used for nobles on their death. Although most myths relate violent deaths of some kind, for heroes there is never any mention of the killing of a woman. In only one, an old woman of Aihun receives a wound through her hanging breast, while she leans over her pigs to protect them from an angry meo, warrior, whose master,

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Beheading is the official, overt version, but the historians maintain that this is said out of deference to Lakekun and the successors to its first Loro, the truth being that he was castrated.

a nobleman from Laran, had been offended, and the offenders ~~were~~ being sheltered by the woman. As a result of this violent act, a coalition attacked the village of Laran and burnt it to the ground, including the sacred Uma Rai Lalian, the house of earth and heaven and its sacred inhabitant, the Nai Bot of the time.

Until, ^{recently,} ~~a recent past~~ (~~the~~ busa badu, lit. cat forbidden) a particular kind of domestic cats were kept in the house and busa tatakan was their favourite place of residence. These cats were even said, as with the Black Dog, [to] never leave the house and go in the open. This is attested, also, by Father Wortelboer (1955:161). Many prohibitions were attached to these cats. The fire could not be left to die out when they had kittens and nursed them. During that time, no one could come and ask for a brand from that house to rekindle her own fire. The busa badu had to be offered food with polite manners. No rude language was to be used in their presence. They could not be laughed at. No violent gesture was to be directed at them and no impatience could be shown towards them.¹

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A usually reliable informant told me that in his childhood before the war he had once sworn at a busa badu which was in his way. The cat took her kittens one after the other in her mouth out of the house and moved into a nearby house where people felt partly honoured and partly annoyed on account of the series of prohibitions attached to the keeping of such cats. The neighbours arranged for a meeting of the young boy with the cat in their own house to repair the misunderstanding. The boy apologized to the cat and begged her to return.

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These prescriptions and prohibitions are those which apply when women themselves give birth and nurse infants, but although they maintain that it was a much more serious matter to break them in respect of cats than in respect of women, I have never noticed any breach of these rules in the time of childbirth and early child-care. It is as a consequence of the disorders, caused by the Japanese occupation, when several villages were deserted, that busa badu gradually disappeared. No effort was ever made, thereafter, to raise any more of these troublesome cats.

What most probably happened here was an identification, at one time culturally integrated, of women with cats - and this cannot be purported to be exclusive to ~~the~~ south-middle Timor minds. I would suggest the hypothesis that such an identification of women with a harmless though temperamental animal provided the men in the society with a convenient substitute for the mother/wife/sister character, onto which they could relieve themselves, ~~in the~~ *should they so w* ~~eventuality that they should feel such an impulse,~~ of some of their aggressiveness towards women. Being a substitute for women, these cats were also protected

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to his mother's house. He denied that he had made any offering to the cat as it was not customary. The cat on the evening of the same day moved back to her original house in as many runs as she had kittens. These busa badu, he added, were very intelligent, they followed the women's conversations and shared their secrets and private opinions.

by these prohibitions, which were even said to be stricter than towards women. ~~but which,~~ In actual fact, ^{the prohibition,} ~~h~~ were done away with as a result of the disorders of 1942-45, simply by giving up the busa badu or, rather, by stopping to care for some of their cats in this traditional way. The cause of complications or death at childbirth or of illnesses affecting a member of the household, mostly women, could be traced back, by means of divination, to an offensive act, ^{sometimes by} ~~of~~ the victim, ~~sometimes,~~ but ^{were} ~~most~~ often ^{by} ~~of~~ a male member or resident of the house, towards busa badu. No other ritual or legal sanctions were taken. On the other hand, there is evidence that ~~the~~ women's immunity from men's aggression, ^{arising out of} ~~namely~~ against the kind of offences, as listed above, from which the badu cats were themselves protected, is still in great force. A young man from Tabene had once, ^{in anger} ~~about~~ 1956 or 1957, gravely insulted, ~~in anger,~~ his mother-in-law by naming her genitals. The old woman had a nervous fit which caused her to micturate in her clothes. The man had to leave his wife's house at once, his marriage being thenceforth considered null and void and, a few days later, his natal house was burnt down by a party of his wife's relatives. Fortunately, the fire did not spread to the neighbouring houses and the matter had, therefore, to be considered as settled. Nai Wehali, who provided this piece of information, said that even in the past, when there was no fear of intervention from the Government or from the Police, the incident would have spread out into a feud only if the retaliation had involved other houses than the culprit's being burnt.

The corner of the back half of the chamber, situated between the fire-place and the lasaen-door, is called feto foun fatik (lit. woman new place), the place of/for new women. It is exclusively there that childbirth takes place, ~~and~~ ^T the young mother is confined to this dark, hot spot for a full lunar month before being allowed to move out, to bathe or to care for her hair. It is ⁱⁿ ~~to~~ this place that women are confined for their menses and, also, where (at night) they micturate (or, when ill, during day time.

The use of koba lor, a small rectangular, check-plaited betel presentation box, has already been mentioned with reference to the initial house ritual of feeding the earth. Koba lor and hanematan, hexagonal 'mad weave' pot-lids, both of the same palm-leaf material, are virtually always used together to make offerings of betel-leaves and areca-nuts at the foot of the lor-pillar or at the hole where it is destined to be placed. Its destination gives the koba lor its name, ~~because,~~ Whereas the hanematan, a round object, is stored on the kahak lor, a male area, despite the feminine use suggested by its name pot-lid, the rectangular koba box is normally used by women only, to keep and to present betel chewing ingredients to their guests. Now, notwithstanding its lor qualification, this koba retains its feminity by being stored on shelves in, or hanged from, the wall or the joists above the feto foun fatik. This is particularly so in one house, Uma Ferik Katuas of Suai, which is concerned with conducting part of the rituals of a

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to note X

war-medicine house, Uma Kakaluk Rai Wal already mentioned,¹ When, on the eve of an important expedition to collect medicines to renew the kakaluk, a cloth pouch which contains these medicines, the Uma Ferik Katuas prepared the halo mama, offering of betel and areca, so the eldest woman of the house took

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Uma Kakaluk Rai Wal v. supra p.253.

As for Uma Ferik Katuas, Dr Middelkoop (1960:147-8) finds in its name Ferik Katuas a confirmation of his theory that the African Negroes introduced as troops by the Portuguese had inserted themselves as 'an entity of their own in the Beluness custom-community, having an independant position', and were concerned there with rain-making rituals 'so prominent among negro tribes in Africa'. Middelkoop reaches this conclusion by cutting the expression Ferik Katuas after the third syllable, thus Ferika Tuas and supplying an s to Ferika, Ferikas, on the ground that s indicates the plural. The fantasy that 'the Ferikas are the African Negroes and the Ferikatuas the elders of these Negro-groups' easily dissipates itself in the light of a few facts:

- (1) there is no plural in s in Tetun, and, when possible, a suffixation of s brings about a change of sense, not of number (cf. pp.266-67, note 1).
- (2) There are no distinguishable traces of African Negroes in the Belu subdivision, physically or otherwise.
- (3) I have not found the rain ritual to be well developed, and anyhow it is only performed by, or in the name of, Nai Bot or Nai Keser, the 'feminine' king of the diarchy mainly because of his symbolic association with earth.
- (4) Ferik and Katuas respectively mean old woman and old man, and nothing else, although they refer more to the respectable status of persons who are married than to their actual age.
- (5) Uma Ferik Katuas, Uma Ferik Bot, Uma Ferik Kiik, or Uma Ferik Uan, etc. are the various local names of lineage houses of feminine character which are ritually dependents of Laran and of Nai Keser, not of Liurai.

several hanematan from the kahak lor or front garret and two koba lor from the feto foun corner. The hanematan with their contents, after being laid at the foot of the lor-pillar and named, were taken away to the houses corresponding to those names and there the contents of betel and areca placed on their respective kahak lor. Alternatively, the two koba lor were intended for the Uma Ferik Katuas itself. Their leaves and nuts (five of each kind for each koba) were placed on that house's kahak lor and then returned to the feto foun corner. ^{When} ~~As~~ I expressed my surprise, with regard to the fact that this ritual was concerned with war, not with women, I was told that it was normal to take the koba lor from that place and, after the ritual was completed, to return them there, since war affairs were not to be mixed with the ancestor spirits (who reside in the lor part of the house) but war (funu, which also means enemy) was a concern of women.¹

Lor-door and its accessories

The lor-door, in contrast to the rae-door, opens on the male world but the transition between the two

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I regret that, at the time, this comment appeared to me such ~~a~~ nonsense that I did not seek clarification. Besides, I was kept busy for the next ten days with the observation of the whole of the war medicine collecting expedition and ceremonies, during which the people paid almost no attention to me and seemed not to care to make comments on what was going on; such was their excitement, often culminating in seizures and uncontrolled behaviour. However, an analysis of the sexual division of rights and duties, at the end of the next chapter, throws some light on this seemingly aberrant piece of information.

worlds is announced before reaching the door itself. The exclusively feminine world may be considered as ceasing from the kotan uma laran, a beam which in Suai-type houses runs across the floor of the chamber at a right angles to the length of the house, dividing it in half. (Although the boundary is not a physical one in Wehali houses, their inhabitants behave exactly as if it were). During the period of her confinement for childbirth or for menses, a woman is not allowed to cross this kotan, even less may she appear at the lor-door, so that the front half of the chamber appears as less thoroughly feminine than the back half. The front half is, indeed, where men come on ritual occasions to officiate, at the foot of the lor-pillar, to the domestic ancestors/ spirits, ~~and~~ The door called oda mata lor is, despite numerous restrictions that are made, the door of men.

The floor surface of the front half of the chamber, however, is used as sleeping and eating quarters by women alone. The space is generally free of paraphernalia and there is room for three generations of women to sleep either along the house or at right angles to the walls. Young boys above the age of five or six ~~are not seen to~~ ^{do not} sleep inside with their mothers and sisters and, very often, they ~~are proud to~~ ^{proudly} go and sleep, (at a much earlier age) with their fathers and elder brothers on the platform.

The corners

Girls of marriageable age in Wehali houses sometimes build for themselves a loka uma laran, a small recess or alcove, in one of the corners of the front half, that is, the corner which is delineated by the doorless half of the front wall and the lasaen side wall. This alcove is not a permanent structure but is made of a number of kleni feto, woman-screens, fastened to a light wooden frame to make, with the walls, the other two sides of the enclosure. It is generally dismantled at the girls' marriage, but it can also be maintained to store a few valuable items of property such as cloths. The space of this flimsy recess has strictly the minimum width and length to allow the girl to sleep in it. The partition walls are sometimes decorated with palm-leaf fans (kakehe) plaited in various fancy patterns, together with mirrors and pictures taken from magazines and books. In Suai houses, no such inside loka is found but nubile girls, particularly those with set marriage plans, find a place of isolation on the kahak lor, the front garret situated over the front platform. In Wehali houses, ~~where~~ there is hardly ^{any} ~~such~~ a garret at all, ^{and it} ~~it~~ is too narrow to allow anyone to sleep on it. In this connection, it could be mentioned that among the hill dwellers, such as those of the already listed Nai-kingdoms of Dirma, Mandeu, Naitimu, Lidak, single girls have their loka built outside the chamber under the eaves along the side wall. They lead a rather promiscuous life there and receive lovers with the assent of their fathers, provided they are paid the price

of one to five silver guilders by their daughters' passing lovers. Needless to say, this custom is abhorrent to the people of the plain where women, particularly single girls, are absolutely never seen ~~to~~ sleep ⁱⁿ outside the house chamber. The only women of the plain who are ever ~~seen to~~ sleep outside the chamber are the newly married women of some Suai houses, as mentioned on p.259. They ^{do not} ~~are not seen to~~ sleep in garden huts either, these being the men's exclusive domain.

The corner where Wehali girls sometimes build their loka alcove is known as lidun lor (lidun, corner). This is a part of the chamber which is very much associated with the ancestor spirits and where the koba lor mentioned above might be expected to be stored, considering its name and the place, the foot of the lor-pillar, where it was put in use. But this apparent contradiction is partly resolved when it is realized that the single girl ^{because she} has not yet acquired full status as a woman, ~~when~~ she retires at night in her alcove of the lor-corner, ~~and that~~ She moves across the inside kotan to the same corner as the koba lor only when she becomes a 'new woman' to bear a child in the feto foun corner.

The loka has a temporary existence and the floor of the lor-corner is generally left clear. In houses of some antiquity, mostly in uma fukun, lineage houses, several male ancestor ^{sal} relics are hung from the walls. They consist almost invariably of kakaluk and surik. A kakaluk is an object which no man can do without. It is a woven cloth satchel which is carried hanging on

a strap from the shoulder. Of the three main types (the ancient unsewn square cloth fastened by its four corners with shell rings,¹ the bags made and sold by the local Chinese traders, and the richly decorated satchels worn by youngsters on festive occasions) it is the plainest, often the most threadbare satchel, which a man has worn till his death, that is suspended there. A man carries his kakuluk at all times, keeping therein his betel-chewing ingredients in their respective containers, as well as numerous other objects of various descriptions. At the death of a fukun, lineage headman, or of any man who has acquired some status during his lifetime as a temukun, village headman, a catechist, a diviner or a successful hunter or cattle-breeder, his kakuluk is removed from the conjugal house to the natal house and hung there in the lor-corner.² Each time an offering is made at the foot of the lor-pillar, one betel-leaf and one areca-nut slice is placed in the ancestors' satchels. This is done as long as the satchels are not completely ragged but are left to fall apart.

The dried leaves and nuts, however, are sometimes taken back by the people of the house to make a quid when no better betel is available.

1

Obtained from pierced operculum of Nautilus shells.

2

Traditionally only a fukun's kakuluk is returned, but the notables listed here have each drawn a share of the power and prestige which presumably the fukun alone had in precontact times.

Surik are sabres of varied antiquity which have been used by the men of several generations for warfare, self-defence and parade. Most have silver decorations on their buffalo-horn or wood fittings. As these sabres, in contrast to the kakaluk satchels, are not in such constant use and ^{are} more durable, they are also much less identified with any one individual and they do not often leave the lor-corner. Someone preparing for a journey to the hills comes to his natal house to take the sabre and returns it when he is back again. This practice somewhat complicates earlier statements concerning the koba lor - which was stored in the childbirth corner (feto foun fatik) - since by placing the sabres in the ancestors' corner, war is undoubtedly associated in some way with the spirits of male ancestors. But this is understandable because, despite the dominant position women have in this society, they are not 'amazon~~s~~'¹ and war, in whatever form, was waged by men. It is probably convenient here to consider that some degree of division occurs between the ritual and the actual aspects of war, an important share of the first being associated with the women's realm. This is seen in the fact that on the one hand, koba lor are used in war ritual at the foot of the lor-pillar but stored in the typically feminine

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A myth, however, tells of a young princess, Bitá Nahak, who kills an ogre in single combat using the wooden sword of her loom, and who defeats Lakuleik nain, the local Hades, using several stratagems. In most of these bouts she assumes a man's attire and deportment.

childbirth corner and that on the other hand, the sabres although stored in the lor-corner of the female chamber, they are used in the act of war. But both these male elements, the lor-pillar and the sabre, are under the custody of a man's mother and sisters, the pillar to be seen only from the inside of the chamber and the sabre to remain in the man's natal house wherefrom he moves at marriage.

There are often, in addition, a great variety of objects preserved there, such as flutes, cattle-whistles, bits of casting nets. In one house, the desiccated leg of a fighting cock was suspended, wrapped in several layers of rags. It was the leg of a cock whose defeat, by a cock of that house's forefather, had won fame for its master.

Before approaching the important zone of the lor-pillar and its door, the opposite corner can be briefly examined. It is unnamed and its use is limited to the storing of food supplies in large pliant wicker-work bags (kanaha). Each of these may contain the corn of thirty to forty koiraik. A koiraik is a round basket with an hexagonal base whose capacity is equal to that of the kerosene can used as a measure by traders, about 12kg. of unhusked rice or ten kg. of maize corn. Rarely more than two to three kanaha can be placed in this narrow space. In Suai houses they contain maize, whereas it is mostly sorghum which Wehali people store in this way, most of their maize supply being hanged, unhusked, in bundles under the roof. In what proportion both cereals are cultivated has been described earlier (p.180). Together with

the assembly of guests, grouped in the lor-corner and round the lor-pillar with their offerings of food. The spirits are invited to glide down the pillar to take possession of the food, which is displayed round its base. If they are not literally told to eat the offerings it is because they are addressed in the same refined way as nobles and distinguished guests. To extend one's hand over food or any other object offered is a sign of taking possession and is sufficient in itself. After having consumed their (immaterial) half of the offering the spirits are expected to haul themselves off by the same way. They are expected, as a result of the resumption of normal relations with their descendants, to restore the conditions of health and prosperity necessary for the descendants, to carry on their duty towards maintaining the continuity of the lineage, a requirement which is best met by having a multiplicity of offspring, in effect one of the great current motives in this society. The spirits will allow this to happen by attending every event of importance in their descendants' house to assist them and by directing their activities in counselling dreams. This means that there will be constant intercourse between the living and the spirits (bei sia, the forefathers) and that ritualized as well as most informal aspects (dreams) of this intercourse will take place in the house.

One of the most noticeable events in any house emphasizing the importance of this path or channel of the spirits is the death of one of the members of the house. The corpse (male or female) is laid out in the

chamber, between the two pillars, with the head by the lor-pillar. It is in this position that the corpse is mourned continuously, day and night, by relatives and neighbours, nowadays for a few days only but, until recently, for a few weeks to several years. It is particularly significant that the vertex is placed in contact with the kakuluk lor. It is through this channel, comprising the main pillar, the head and the spine of the dead, which rests along the main axis of the house, that the spirits come to drain the spirit of the corpse and incorporate it with theirs.

~~Because the~~
~~(It is also in view of this frequentation, by~~
 The ancestor spirits ^{frequent} of the front zone of the chamber, ~~Therefore~~
~~that,~~ on the eve of an important offering, as for the construction of a new house,¹ the betel and areca in hanematan are placed on the kahak lor, the front garret, to be imbued, as it were, with spiritual powers and also, as it is commonly phrased, to inform or to let the ancestors know that their beneficent presence will be required. One who seeks the service of a diviner or seer, makdo:k, lit. (the one) who (sees) far, comes to him usually in the evening and brings a small silver coin (10 cents of Dutch colonial currency or 20 Kwantung cents). The diviner places the coin and a few betel-leaves and areca-nuts in a hanematan on the kahak lor of his own house, together with his particular instruments of divination (either a grind stone, a handful of bright red kfae seeds, an egg or two, or else, kept there for this use only, a spear). It is

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Cf. supra pp.218-19.

only on the following morning that he takes these objects down and proceeds with the divination. During the whole night, the spirits which endow him with powers, are attracted into the house and ~~will~~ assist him with dreams and/or visions, relevant to the problems which will be put to him.

The front platform

The lor-door in ordinary dwellings, like the rae-door, is closed at night by the women, when they retire to sleep inside, while their sons, unmarried brothers, husbands and male guests settle for the night on the platform. Both doors are slid open in the morning by the women to get out rather than to let the men in, which ^T the men ^{enter} ~~do~~ only when their presence is required inside, for instance, for ritual performances. The women have a much freer access to the men's quarters. They are commonly seen sitting on the platform, particularly in the evenings, chatting and listening to the men's discussions and teaching their daughters the art of spinning. In the day-time, too, weaving is often done on the platform, which is convenient because the various attachments of the loom can easily be moored to the posts. The space below the floor is even more suitable for weaving because of the greater number of posts. The space below is used to prepare the warp on the loom but not so much for the actual weaving; the space on the ground is cool but the weaver is, too often, disturbed by her domestic animals.

These are the informal uses of the front space by the women of the house. When it comes to such occasions as a family meal and when there are guests and the occasion is more formal, women who have prepared the food hand it over from the inside through the lor-door to the men who sit on the platform. Some aspects of etiquette have already been mentioned particularly with regard to the circulation of food and other objects among men. The sitting position of the two categories of men (kin and affines) has also been noted in relation to the lor-door and the kotan lor, the longitudinal division of the front platform. When the men have settled for a meal round the space of the platform, women¹ first hand out salt in small saucers, then water in an anti-clockwise direction. Then they pass the plates containing boiled rice or ground maize and bowls of meat and broth to all present. The senior or the higher ranking among the commensals is always

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There is no precise determination as to who should be the woman sitting inside the door to hand out the food and utensils to men. It seems, however, that it is not one of the elder generation of women in the household who does this, but anyone of the mother ~~to~~ daughter generations, with one exception. When an accepted suitor is invited to have a meal at his fiancée's house, she is not to appear at the door during the meal, much less to hand him his plate directly. To behave in this way is considered immodest and lacking in self-control on the part of both the girl and the young man. It further suggests an excess of sexual greediness and anticipates conjugal relations based on pleasure rather than the carrying out of household and family duties. Similarly, a wife will not pass any food or utensil directly to her husband in the presence of a third person, a fortiori of guests.

served last, and it is he who, on behalf of the others, addresses a few words to the women asking permission from them to start the meal.¹ This can be said in a couple of words or in a score of verses, to which in either case the women reply by an approving: hééé! This procedure becomes meaningful when it is realized that women have their meal only when the men's place has been cleared of plates, bowls and glasses and wiped with the little broom of sorghum stalks which is known as busa, cat. True, this is not a feature unique to the Southern Tetun and the usage for women to wait until men have finished their meal is widespread, as I have witnessed equally in neighbouring Savunese families in Betun and in European peasant society. But between this and the Tetun example there are differences of attitude. To restrict my comparison to the Savu element, the impression there is quite different since women literally consume the leftovers of the men who have helped themselves from the main dishes handed to them. In Wehali and Suai, women hand over the plates to the men who eat what they are given. The women, and this is an observation which I owe to my wife, withhold their preferred morsels such as the liver, the gizzard of a chicken, the marrow of long bones, etc. They do this with a conniving look which passes largely

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In Tetun it is described as katak, to let know, or fo hatene which has a similar but more literal meaning (to give to know); it is translated in Indonesian by the Tetun themselves as mintá permisi, to ask permission.

unnoticed by the men owing to the partition of the house into separate quarters. It appears therefore to be an inverted order of precedence and this impression is corroborated when related to the relative heights of the inside floor and the front platform and steps. This characteristic which did not appear in the description of the construction of Bei Sere Ikun's typical house is however common to all houses in the southern plain of Belu. The inside floor is 20 to 30cm. higher than the front platform so that all women are seated one grade higher than any of the men sitting on the labis leten, the higher of the platforms. That relative heights in sitting are given a symbolic hierarchical value is further apparent in the fact that the guests, when they happen to be numerous, are placed on three levels which correspond to their rank. It is said in principle that on the labis lor are the nai, nobles; on the labis raik, the lower (raik) platform, are the freemen (hutun, the people); and on the steps and on the ground in front of the verandah, the slaves (ata). But in practice, as observed at formal meals to which might be invited one of either Liurai, Nai Bot or Nai Wehali, the high platform is occupied by the noble together with the eldest among the kinsmen and affines of the host house, the former, as noted earlier, sitting on the same side as the noble guest on the widest half of the platform, i.e. by the doorless half of the front wall. There may also be a makoan (historian and custom expert) and his pupil as advisers. On the lower level platform (labis raik), if there is

one,¹ are the fukun, clan and lineage-heads, and other notables, men who for some reason, either from personal inclination or for their acknowledged wisdom, are most often seen to be involved in important matters. Thirdly, on the steps (tetek) leading to the platform and all round on the ground, sitting on the screens unknotted from the sides and front of the platform, or better on one very large mat (biti rai) normally used to dry the corn after harvest, are the rest of the guests, those of no particular importance: the neighbours and friends of the household. The actual number of former slaves, in the villages I know, is very small.

Whereas men stratify themselves in this conspicuous way, it is more difficult to appreciate how precedence is formalized among women. On occasions as formal as that above, where a Nai's female relatives have accompanied him, they may sit for some time on the front by the lor-door,² but when it comes to the time for men to be served their meal, they move back inside with the other women of the house where they sit all on the same level. The only sign of precedence noted here is that the female guests tend to sit and be served close by the front of the chamber and the lor-corner, while the women of the house stay closer to the rae-door and the fire-place. However, this is also functionally

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Some of the smaller houses, particularly those of the Wehali type, ~~have~~ do not have this intermediary level platform.

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A Nai's wife would never, if she accompanies him at all.

determined since the hosts must have free access to this sector.

In order to further exemplify the inversion of the hierarchical values attributed to the relative sitting levels of the sexes, the case should be mentioned of the two capitals of the diarchy which reigned from Wehali over the Great Timor Empire. In the immediate vicinity of the village of Laran, which is the present traditional residence of Nai Bot, the feminine 'keizer', is a place known as Nu:raik. The meaning of this name for most people is only 'low coconut tree' (nu:, coconut). But for all who have some knowledge of history and traditions, the proper name is in fact knua raik, the lower noble residence. Knua, as well as its near synonym of ksadan, means the space round which a village is built, where the nai holds court and council most often in the shade of a Ficus, and where the dead are buried.¹ By extension, it means the natal house of the Nai and the whole of his village. Knua raik, in regard to Laran, also referred to in contrast as Knua as (as, above), is not lower topographically than Nai Bot's village, but it was the residence of Liurai, the male element of the diarchy, and it is only with reference to its symbolic association with the male sex that the now

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Cf. p.81 and note 23, p.86.

deserted¹ Liurai residence was called lower. In turn, the higher noble residence, Laran, is only higher because of the symbolic female connotation given to the position of Nai Bot.

The men's place in the house is thus distinguished from that of the women by its lower ranking level. But it is also characterized in several other ways, as has been seen. Since women's activities are centered round the fire in the inside, enclosed part of the house which is hot and dark, they are contrasted to those of the men whose quarters are established in the cold and clear open space of the platform. For them there is no corner, no compartment where to secure privacy or where to store their belongings. The privacy which women enjoy in the chamber is denied to the men who, at night or during their meal or when discussing private matters among themselves, cannot much rely on the light woman-screens which loosely hang from the platform's awnings. At any time, anyone passing by may half-open the screens and call on the men to ask for some tobacco, betel or lime, or simply out of

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There are several explanations given as to why Liurai's residence has been abandoned. The date and the circumstances of these events are difficult to establish. The genealogy of the present Liurai is almost entirely composed of members of noble houses of Manlea, Fatu Aruin and Insana and does not allow an estimation of the time when a Liurai and his regalia were chased to these mountainous regions. It will be remembered that it is on the enquiries of the Dutch party which came to pacify the plain in 1906 that Nai Bot designated Nai Teeseran of Builaran in Fatu Aruin as the legitimate successor to the position of Liurai Malaka.

curiosity or from the desire merely to find some company. Those on the platform are expected to welcome the self-imposed visitor and must be prepared to share with him their meals, their problems or whatever might have prompted them to seek privacy. In fact, rules of etiquette require that the platform should be enclosed as rarely as possible, and that when someone is passing by, he should be greeted and formally invited to come and sit for a while and have a quid of betel. Neither can this invitation be refused outright, though the passer-by may reply that he would rather accept it on his way back even if he does not mean to.¹

The personal belongings of a man are quite minimal and there is little need of room for storing them. The inventory of a front platform is quickly done; it is virtually an empty place; and a man's belongings are worn on himself. They are principally the already mentioned satchel or pouch of chewing ingredients and various cosmetic articles,² his bush-knife in its sheath, his

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An informant recalled the case of an old bachelor whom he knew well and who was delightfully sociable and had irreproachable manners. He never closed the screens of his platform so that he could see and call on everyone passing by within the scope of his vision. He never sat down for a meal before he had let it be known to all present and even, in his younger days, before having made a tour of the neighbouring houses to announce that he was about to do so. My informant once asked him why he had never married. He replied that he had always been too busy with people and never had the time really to think about marriage.

2

Still made and used in the way described by Bühler, 1939:390-2.

cattle-whistle and a rectangular piece of woven material he wears as a cloak. When these items are found suspended from a wooden hook or a stag-horn, or from the bush-knife itself thrust between two layers of the thatch, the man who owns them cannot be far away. That these constitute the private property of a man appears from the fact that when a man is repudiated by his wife, it is this assortment of belongings which she casts out into the dirt before the platform. Divorce in general, and particularly divorce ritualized in this way, is very rare and I have therefore to rely on the assertions of informants who may be inclined to dramatize and believe themselves actually threatened by their wives. Given the restraint reigning between spouses, unless of course the husband's behaviour has been such as to arouse the wife's anger to this extreme, it is more likely that the symbolic gesture is made by either the wife's mother or her mother's brother. Whether actually performed or not this emphasizes the insecure position of men in relation to women in south Belu society. As they sometimes complain: 'We the men have no value'.

Other typically masculine possessions, such as the sabres, ~~have been seen~~^{are} stored inside due to either their sacred or their intrinsic value. The latter is the case ^{with} of shotguns, which are either tied up on the lor-pillar or laid on the lor-garret. It is also the case ^{with} of adorned horse head-fittings and mouth-pieces which are kept together with various other men's ornaments (breast-plates, diadems, armbands, ankle-bells, etc.) - all immovable and inalienable goods - on the kahak lor. Even ordinary pieces of equipment such as the simple

cord bit with a wood or horn mouth-piece for the horse, and the casting net, which are ^{hung} ~~hanged~~ in the corners of the verandah are not really considered as the personal property of a man. ~~not because~~ ^{Although} these articles are not said to be thrown in the dirt by his angry wife - as the gesture is symbolized and needs to be concisely acted and phrased - ~~but rather because~~ ^{and,} despite their relative worthlessness, ^{nevertheless} they are products of the man's activities in the house, whence they belong to the house, i.e. to the women.

The reduction of men's role and of their zone of activity has ^{not occurred uniformly throughout} ~~not a uniform intensity~~ over all the southern coastal plain of middle Timor. Reference has often been made to Wehali and Suai¹ in relation to one another in order to bring out the differential value of particularly relevant details. Although Suai and Wehali differ so slightly, their differences are not negligible, and, as is the case for many aspects of their common culture, the ratiocinating minds of the people have historico-mythical reasons to account for the differences as well. I appeal to this feature to find an explanation for the fact that Wehali villages are poorly built whereas Suai houses are comparatively spacious and give, allowing for the nature of the building materials, an impression of durability.

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Both taken as representatives, the first of the immigrant villages from Tafara lower basin, the second of the Nai-kingdoms adjacent to both banks of the lower Benenai.

The reason given, ~~and in this~~ ^T ~~it~~ is closely related to ~~the matter of~~ female dominance in general in the plain and more particularly in Wehali, for the shanty aspect of Wehali houses, in contrast to those of Suai, is that Wehali has no men. Despite its ~~briefness~~ ~~this brevity~~ ^T this paradoxical statement is not without foundation. It has to be related to the organization principle of the diarchy, the base of which is that Wehali is the primal giver who shares rights and duties with her vassals but who, like the loving mother spoiling her child to secure its attachment to her, deprives herself in the distribution of good things for the benefit of her offspring in order to counterbalance the centrifugal tendencies of children and to retain them in a very special kind of ritual and emotional bond of vassalage. The most important among the so-called good things which have been given away is 'father-right', but there are nuances. ~~Thus it is found~~ ^T In successive concentric zones around Wehali, ~~that~~ the further from Wehali the more masculine features are found, whereas the closer to the centre (laran, lit. centre, middle, inside) the more there are feminine features. ~~So that~~ ^T The Suai and related villages, either considered in their original place, east of the border, or in Wehali where they recently took refuge, are in an intermediary position between Wehali and the hill kingdoms (sometimes referred to as rai mane, land men). An examination of what they have and have not, in comparison to both poles, helps to explain what is meant by giving away men's rights and by the paradoxical assertion that Wehali has no men.

Section IV: Woman's House

Wehali is said to have lost her male nobility. Several myths relate events which resulted in the final flight or banishment of a Liurai, or his violent death in a foreign region of the island¹ and Wehali would

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Atok Liurai died on the plateau of Sarabete in the Dawan-speaking Amanatun kingdom. His coffin was preserved there, together with those of at least two of his meo, leading warriors, until about 1958 when the Rev. Father Sonbai S.V.D., himself related to the Western Dawan ruling house, persuaded the people to bury these remains which had been waiting proper conditions for funeral for some 400 years. Atok Liurai was killed in one of the skirmishes which followed the war of Likusaen. To this day the burial is not considered as valid by Wehali where gong play is still banned inside the village fences as a sign of mourning, and where at the very small village of Manekin (Aintasi), where according to some Atok Liurai had been brought up, no cattle can be slaughtered inside the fence, since this would only be done for Atok's funeral. My interpretation of the limitation of the prohibition to this one tiny village of less than 50 inhabitants is rather that it has been especially built and populated in order to carry the burden of this heavy prohibition on behalf of the whole of Wehali. In support of this view, there are several other examples of shouldering one person or a limited number of persons with such ritual burdens. One of these is Bei Loofoun (Plate VII, no.2), a prominent makoan of Rabasa, who is almost vegetarian (he can eat fish) and abstains from tua palm beer and brandy. These prohibitions are the conditions of efficacy of the war-medicines in use in this particular Nai-kingdom and they really apply to all warriors of this kakaluk (war-medicine pouch) brotherhood. But he alone is burdened with the prohibitions in the name of others.

Cf. also on the question of banishment of several Liurai in the course of mythical history notes on pp.257, 266-67, 297, 307, and Appendix E.

then be in eternal waiting of her princes to come back, or to be properly buried. This is the historico-mythical way native historians rationalize their present social system focused on womanhood. It provides them also with an account for a number of features such as, for instance, the absence of canoes, of a wide front platform, of coffins and proper funerals and the presence of some forms of tattooing in Wehali.

Canoes (dug-out or otherwise) are indeed absent from the whole coast of south-middle Timor from Rabasa, south of the mouth of River Benenai, to Suai and Kamanasa, north of the mouth of River Tafara.¹ One faction among historians, from the southern tip (Kfau Lulik) of the village of Suai, maintains that the use and fabrication of canoes became prohibited for Wehali and her neighbouring vassals of the plain because her male Nai had left by sea to rule overseas and taken away the objects and right to build them.

This hypothesis in turn gave this group of informants the explanation of other prohibitions proper to Wehali: since Wehali waits for the return

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Dug-out canoe construction was introduced shortly after the war by a school-teacher from Djenilu (north coast, the region round the port of Atapupu) where canoes are in common use. His example was followed by a very few people only, most of whom are foreigners to Wehali and Suai to some degree (Chinese, Rotinese, etc.). Words for canoe or boat (ro or bero) for oar or paddle (vover) existed before the recent reintroduction of these items of culture.

by sea of her princes the population must keep a constant watch on the sea-shore and, if Wehali villages are not actually built on the sea front, they must at least be built as if they were, i.e. they are only built of temporary houses or shelters of the klobor type, which is characterized by ~~their~~ flimsy structure and ~~the~~ narrowness of their lor-platform, reduced in a klobor to a mere step leading to the lor-door. ~~So that~~ According to the arguments of these historians, the type of houses in Wehali is due to the expectation of the people for their Nai, which causes them to build only shelters with no elaborate platform (the men's quarters) and/or houses with reduced platforms, since there are also no men of any significant rank to settle on them.

A further corollary is that Wehali people cannot bury their dead with full honours, that is, they cannot use a coffin, but only wrap the corpse in a mat. This is because there is an alleged prohibition to dig out logs on the sea-shore (cf. the prohibition on canoe construction), nor can they accompany their dead in cortege as do the Suai and Kamansa people to the burial grounds (ksadan) when this is outside the village fence. In such cases the grave-diggers and corpse-carriers (in even numbers of 4, 6 or 8) take the dead out of the house and run away with their load while the struggling and screaming close relatives and friends of the deceased are held back by other mourners to prevent them from following. The dramatic crisis abates when an elder eventually pours water on the fire which had been lit at the

moment of death for the vigil and on whatever woman may have fallen into it. This hurried mode of burial is said to be reserved ^{for} ~~to~~ cases when a death occurs outside the village, such as during a hunting, fishing, or beeswax-collecting expedition, and ^{for} ~~all~~ all cases ranging between normal and bad death of which the typical examples are those resulting from falling from a tree or a horse, being struck by a thunderbolt, and from fatal childbirth.

This network of rationalization was obtained shortly before leaving the field, and I only had time to cross-check with a famous Wehali makoan, the very old Bei Bisik of the village of Bakateu, native of Manumuti Uma Nen (Plate VI, no.2). Bei Bisik contemptuously rejected the whole construction - and I cannot but think that these explanations were so belated as to prevent me from cross-checking with other makoan - on the basis that Wehali had no klobor, temporary shelters, since these too had been 'given away' to the hill Nai-kingdoms such as Mandeu, Naitimu, etc. which needed them as sentry-boxes in their watch on passes to protect Wehali from foreign, specially Likusaen, infiltration. Even if this technical objection is overlooked, there are good grounds to reject partly the awaiting of male Nai as accounting for the unsequential existence of the men of Wehali. These stem from the fact that, in the plain and specially in Wehali, the loss of an individual man of whatever status is immaterial for the continuity of his lineage in such a strictly matrilineal society as this, where succession is

ensured by the sister's son. What the informants confuse here is the concrete individual men and the legal and ritual positions of authority which men usually occupy; they confuse in other words, the actor with the role.

Much of the theory however remains, and it accounts for the puzzling customs mentioned above of Wehali in regard to Suai: the absence of canoes, of coffins, and of wide lor-platforms. Further it expresses the sense of deprivation which Wehali feels at the absence of male rulers. It is not so much the loss of persons, due to unfortunate events as is postulated, which counts here, as the loss of masculine positions of political and ritual powers.¹ The expulsion of Liurai, which seems to have been a recurrent vicissitude in the history of the Liurai lineage, proceeds from the same tendency to reject masculine authority from this society.

Finally the distribution of ^ttattooing patterns needs only to be mentioned in passing. It accentuates again the apparent self-induced minimization of male attributes found in Wehali society by retaining particularly feminine ones. Among the most conspicuous of these are leg and arm ^ttattooings which are considered specifically feminine attributes. The ultimate reason why it is so is not immediately apparent, but the modes of application

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It will be remembered that feminine positions, Nai Bot for instance, are held by men in Wehali and the plain.

follow the general pattern. Wehali men have a large band of simple tattooing inscribed around the elbows of both arms. Wehali women have this as well, but in a slightly different design. In addition women have the whole of the shank covered with stylizations of crocodiles, lizards, turtles and snakes (all very 'chthonic' animals) in a well ordered setting. By contrast, Suai men have no such tattooings, but Suai women, who have no leg tattooings have arm tattooings of a complexity of design which no doubt compensates for the absence of leg tattooings. It consequently appears that indeed the parallel series of

<u>arms</u>	<u>arms + legs</u>
men	women

are displaced in the case of Suai; or, as the historians phrase it, when the Suai and related peoples were sent from Wehali to Suai on the shores of the Tafara estuary, they registered some degree of loss on the side of femininity:

<u>arms</u>	<u>arms + legs</u>
men	women

Leg Tattooing of a Wehali Woman

This is the representation of a flattened-out shank.

On an upper horizontal line, four 'half-moons' circle the leg just beneath the knee and constitute the upper limit of the tattooed area.

Underneath, on the left hand side of the page, four six-legged 'lizards' are drawn on both sides of the shin. Between the two columns of two lizards

each, on the shin itself, are fillings in s and ^ . In the middle is a motive called 'dog's track' and below are undulating lines which represent 'water'.

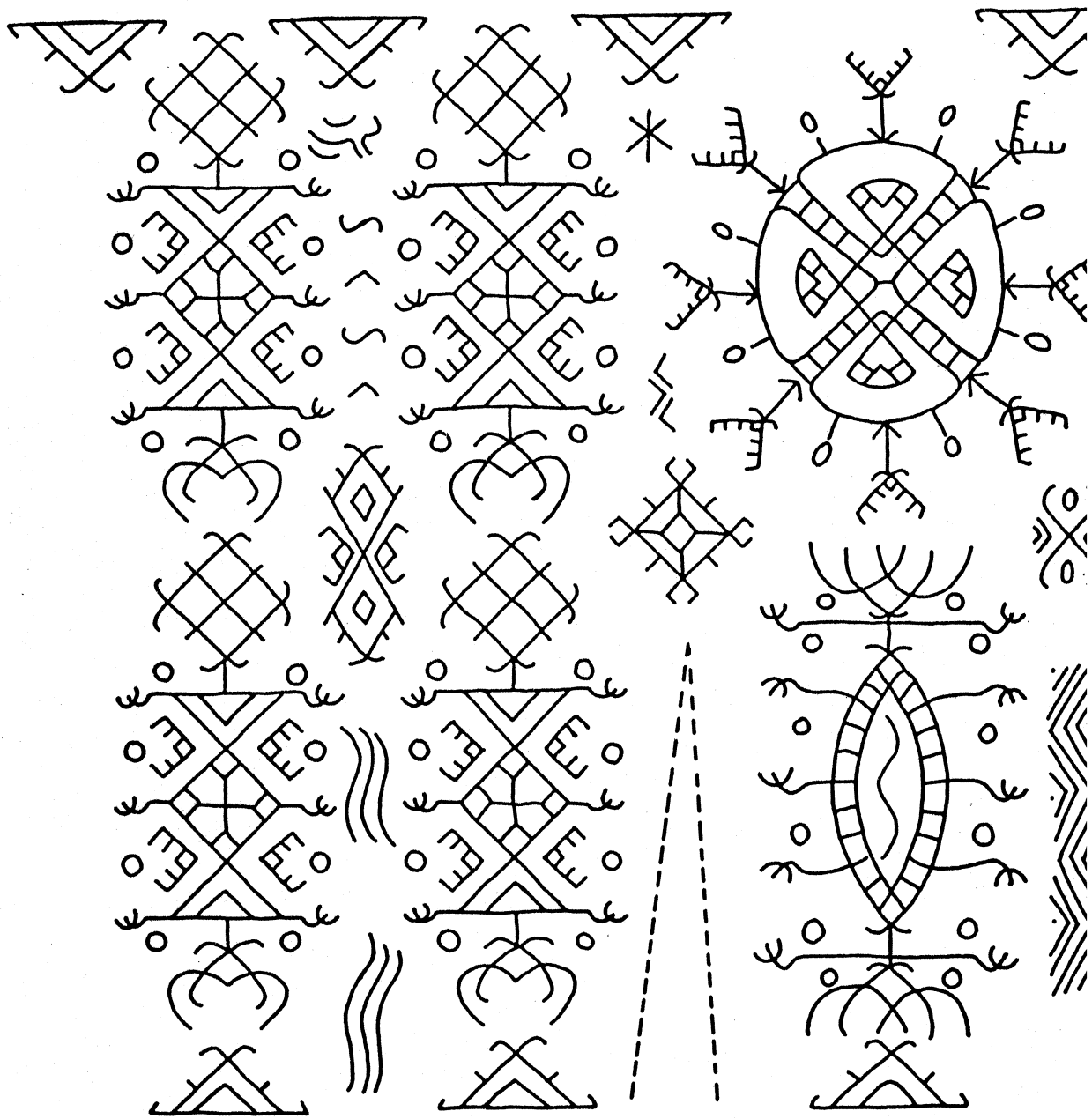
On the right hand side of the page is an eight-clawed 'turtle' which covers the thick part of the calf of the leg, and below is a ten-legged 'water-lizard', possibly a skink.

In the middle of this column on the left is a 'moon', on the right is a variation of a 'dog's track'. On the right of the water lizard is a variation of 'water'.

On a lower horizontal line, three 'half-moons' circle the ankle and constitute the lower limit of the tattooed area.

The shape of moons, half-moons and dog's tracks is very constant. The number, place and shape of the fillings (water, stars, s, ^) are on the contrary very variable. But although the principal figures (lizard, water lizard and turtle) are subject to considerable variation from one village to another, their general outline, their proportions and their disposition are uniform all over the plain kingdoms west of River Benenai and Wehali, Fatu Aruin and Lakekun on its east bank, with the exception of Suai, Kamanasa and other malaik (fugitive) groups.

In the overall feminity of the plain culture, Suai has thus a few more masculine features than Wehali. 'Suai', as Bei Suai, a makoan (plate VI, no.1) whispered to me 'took man, and they (Wehali)



took woman ('s characteristics)' (Suai nodi mane ma sia rodi fetu).¹

Houses in the plain of south-middle Timor are characterized by their unusually strong association with women. Their internal arrangement and some of the formal and informal uses which are made of them show that they are in a great measure woman's exclusive world. The men by contrast have no access to at least the back half of the house's chamber and in practice only inhabit the open platform. They have little to deal with inside, their presence in the

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It could become easily tedious to record all the variants of these rationalizations, but here is one which offers some interest. It will be remembered that in the creation myth, Mau Kiak and his sister Bui Kiak inhabited a house which they built on their arrival. Further questioning on the details of their installation and their dealings with the autochtones - taken in the literal sense - brought out the answer that Wehali also gave away this model house to the Suai people who had none at the time and took shelter in burrows, whence the name of Suai, which is a contraction and combination of the words suru rai. Suru means to scratch (with hands in supination) and to scoop out rai, earth. This etymology is well known, but its relation to the particular habitat of Suai's forefathers is only known ~~is~~ a restricted circle of historians. Here again, Wehali is said to have kept for herself the type of house which really provides room for women only and to have given away to Suai houses where men also find relatively spacious living quarters. The giving away of this type of house entailed leaving Marlilu and resettling in the north eastern part of the plain for whatever Suai population might have consisted of then. The interest of this tale resides in its conformity to the general mechanism of distribution of superior rights and items of culture to vassals.

front half of the chamber being in fact ~~only~~ required from them ^{only} for the performance of domestic and heroic rituals.¹ The aim of these ritual performances, some of which have been referred to, is essentially to reintroduce the male element into the disturbed order of life (crop or cattle failures, disease or death in the household) thus ensuring a level of efficiency sufficient to keep in check the female element. It is the women indeed who, associated as they are with the dark, the inside world, the heat, the ripeness of fruits, of cooked food and of dyed (matured) weaving material (all of them indicators and precursors of death), represent the threat to the men's order. Men in turn are associated with the good, plain aspects of life, the light, the freshness and rawness of the outside world, the raw yarn of their clothes, which represent none of the mysteries with which womanhood and motherhood are so richly endowed.

Matak malirin, lit. raw (and) cold, is the ~~semperitarily~~ ^{everlastingly} reiterated formula of prayers which it is the exclusive task of men to pronounce over their offerings to the ancestor spirits whom they call upon to intervene in their favour in the disturbed life order.

1

Hero cult is performed in sacred houses which are built on the same pattern as ordinary dwellings. Or rather the other way around, as much of the present material gives support to Raglan's theory [cf. Raglan, 1963].

On the sides of a first schematic plan of the house (following page Fig. a) the intensity of the sexual characterization is rated in relation to the two principal zones of activities, the outside and the inside, and the two intermediary areas, the lor-platform (outside) and the lor half of the inside of the house. It will appear from the comparison of the two scales that one, the men's portion, is not limited, ^{but} it is opened on the outer world, and that the other, which rates the intensity of femininity in the three main areas of the house, is closed, finite. It is limited by the walls of the house. That this is more than a graphism will appear later when dealing more closely with the mobility of men and the immobility of women in ^{relation to} ~~the consideration~~ of marriage and descent.

On the second plan of the house (Fig. b), are plotted the places of the main participants and their main activities. From this sketch, which sums up some of the features examined so far, it will appear that reality in the present case cannot be dealt with in a double column whereby a male/female division draws all activities and aspects of life in their separate distinct trails.

Here we have to consider two main divisions of the space which cut across one another. Firstly, there is a horizontal male/female division with an intermediary band where acts of compromise or mediation are carried out between the two and where the ^{incompletely formed} ~~not fully coined~~ elements of either worlds are placed: men store the raw products of their work, virgins (raw women) instal their cosy corner.

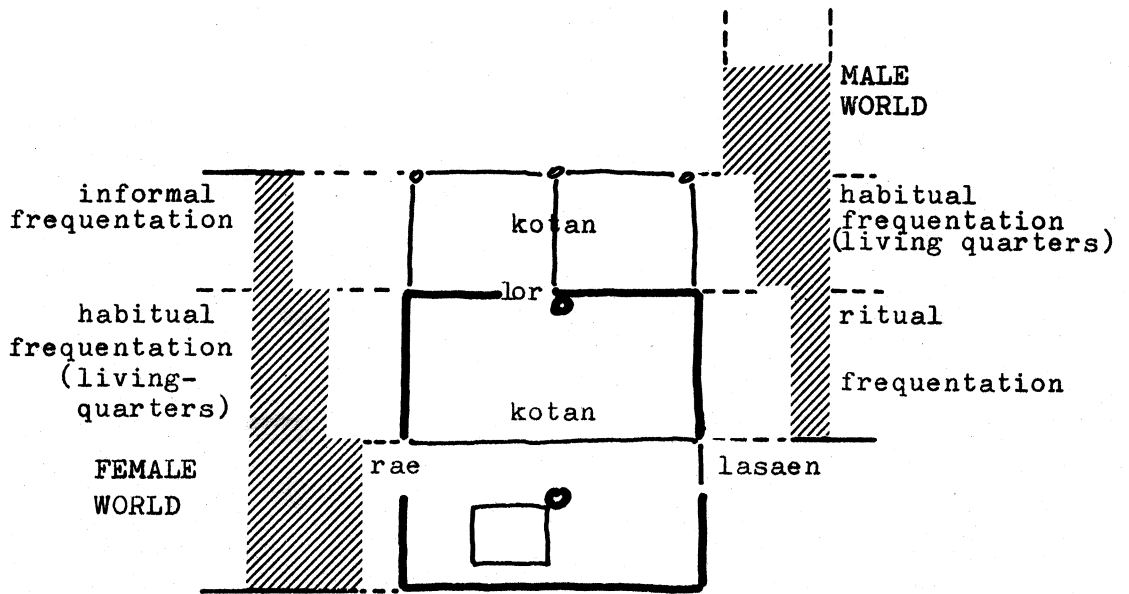


Figure a

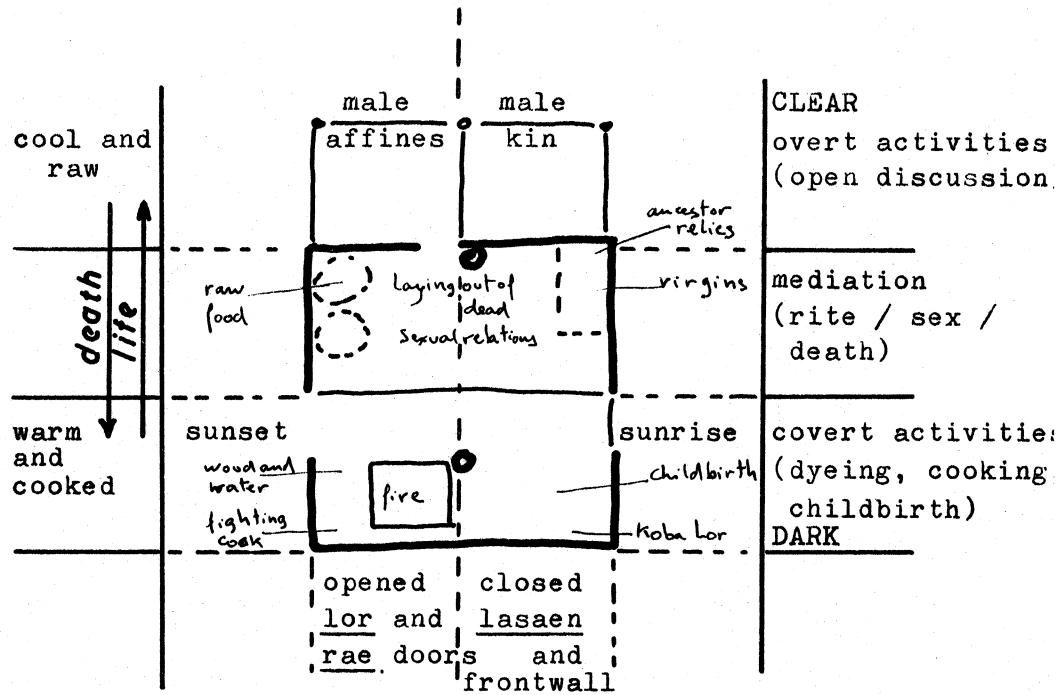


Figure b

It is the zone of compromises where interaction between the two worlds is possible. Men are admitted there to perform rites which are intended to reinforce the raw and cold qualities in situations where an excess of heat and ripeness has endangered the society. It is here again that sexual relations take place, that the dead are laid out before being committed to earth, and that the ancestor spirits circulate and visit the living and the recent dead.

The male sector of the platform is characterized by its near emptiness and absence of mysterious activities only. Indeed it is the meeting place where public affairs are handled and things made clear and 'outspoken'. To speak in the open, in public is h.a-lia, from lia which means word, voice, (1) debate, law-suit, and also (2) ritual, ceremony. The first acceptance refers to affairs between the living, and the second to affairs between the living and the dead and/or between men and women. Both categories of lia take place in the front two-thirds of the house, but while the first occur on the open platform or more generally outside the house,¹ the

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In this light an outstanding feature of the diarchic political organization can be recalled. Liurai, Nai and noble officers in the position of rulers are qualified mak la'o lia, lit. (the ones) who walk (with) voice, or who proffer words (to proffer being taken in its etymological sense). They are the nai roman, the clear lords. On the other hand, Nai Bot, the noble officers and the noble house guardians of female character without whom theoretically there is no active, overt authority possible (since the latter

(continued on next page)

second, which are rituals - transactions between the living and the ancestor spirits - take place in the front half of the chamber (the second third from the front). They are performed by the men, although at the request of the women. Similarly, sexual intercourse takes place here and is also left to the initiative of women to a large measure.

Whatever may appear to be the ritual activities taking place at the back of the house - like cutting the umbilical cord, anointing the child's fontanel or the mother's loin - ^{these} are not, strictly speaking, lia; they cannot be assimilated to cases under dispute or to transactions between two parties. Those ritual acts performed at the back of the house are internal affairs of women; they belong to their self-contained closed world.

The female sector of the rear half of the inside is ~~that~~ where the mysterious processes of dyeing the yarn (in black, for women's use), of cooking, and of childbirth and menstruation (all of these, maturation processes, in a way) take place. It is here also that the cock is tied up before a day's fight, and that koba lor are stored when not in use for war preparatory rituals. They are thus imbued with the awesome powers attributed to the 'other' sex

1(continued)

are the source of the former), are nai kukun, dark lords. Their passivity is expressed in many ways, especially in the fact that they do not talk about matters of custom, beliefs, history, etc. For these purposes they rely entirely on their heralds, the makoan.

which can thus be used as an occult weapon against enemies.

These predominantly female activities can themselves be divided into two categories. In the first, dyeing and cooking are woman-made activities, transformations of matter introduced into the house from the outside world, and performed in the corner which is accessible through the rae-door. In the second, childbirth and menstruation are seen as exclusively feminine concerns, transformations undergone without external intervention and, to a large extent, unvoluntarily. These occur in the corner to which there is no normal access through the lasaen closed door.

This leads to a second main division of the house which can be made vertically so as to separate the open half of the house from the closed one. A glance at the sketch of the house (above) shows that lor and rae-doors can be opened, which they are in fact in normal use, whereas on the opposite half, lasaen-door, as indicated by its name 'not-climb-up', is not normally used and is virtually always closed. On the front of this half, the wall is doorless. Now this closed longitudinal half is ~~that~~ frequented by the blood relatives of the house. The living kinsmen sit on the platform with their backs resting on the blind half wall; the ancestor spirits and their relics abide in the lor-corner; and women in the opposite corner of the same half undergo the main events of the life cycle proper to their sex. The absence of a door on this half of the front wall becomes thus

self-evident. It is the materialization of incest prohibitions. The male blood relatives are separated from their kinswomen by a solid partition wall.

The closing of the east door (lasaen) on the other hand is a more delicate matter since there is the notable exception of the elder daughter in Suai using this door in the first years of her marriage. But it may be suggested here - the occurrence of this exception being insignificant in terms of percentage - that this society, by denying itself the use of this door which is nevertheless built as a normal door, expresses a not otherwise formulated longing for parthenogenesis. This leads in turn on the track of the motives underlying what has sometimes been called 'the sexual ignorance of savages', an indispensable stage in the development of many matriarchal theories. ~~By~~ ^{manifestation} this concretization in ~~the~~ house construction and ⁱⁿ the regulation of the use of the available doors, ^{asserts} ~~it is assumed that~~ the lineage's continuity ^{as} is a self-contained process which needs no external intervention. True, this impression is gained only by ~~the~~ drawing ^{*} of a dotted vertical line along the axis of the house, but ~~it is a fact that~~ ^{everything does} practically ~~all~~ happens in that 'enclosed' side of the house, as if functions of life and death did not require external intervention, least of all from the affines.

The opposite side of the house, on the contrary, is all open. It is through both lor and rae-doors that activities concerned with the transformation of some of the house's contents, either for or on behalf of

the affines, are carried out: cooking, as seen above, and sexual relations. This is done by allowing communication with the outside world through two different ways for two different categories and purposes: through the rae-door for firewood and water,¹ through the lor-door for raw food provided by the affines and also for themselves when they are allowed in for sexual relations as well as on their death.²

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It is worth noting in this connection that an unmarried girl who has a sexual adventure is said, with some derision, to have contracted a marriage of 'wood and water' (ai no we). This expression can be accounted for in two ways. The first, which is given by the people themselves, is that the girl leaves the house to meet her lover under the pretext of going to fetch water or firewood. The second explanation follows from what has been said of the arrangement of the house: the girl, in such a case, uses the way of wood and water, i.e. the rae-door, for, whereas a lawful husband passes through the lor-door, this is absolutely out of the question for a lover. It is the girl who has to go out of the house to meet him and there is only the rae-door which she can use, whether this happens during the day or during the night, mostly then because the lor-platform is strewn with the men of the house. Such an enterprise is risky even using the rae-door, but the risks would be insurmountable if she were to use the lor-door. In order to preserve Wehali women's good repute, it must be added that cases of fornication are there exceedingly rare.

2

The association of the chamber with death is so strong that a sick man cannot usually be carried to lie inside until he has become totally unconscious. I have seen several cases of men who, very badly shaken with fever, refused energetically to go and rest inside where they would at least have been sheltered from the cold night wind.

By way of transition with what will follow, it could be suggested that it is not insignificant that, while courting (h.a-nima,k, to court, to frequent, cf. nima-nima, incessantly, for days together) at night, a young man will either stand by the outside wall of the loka uma laran where the girl lies, or sit on the platform by the lor-corner where the girl's head rests, and recite poems, play the jew's harp or a bamboo bass recorder. During this courting time, they will address each other with sibling terms or with their own personal names. When after marriage, and courting and semi-innocent play have ceased, the ~~hus~~ ~~man on becoming a husband~~ will have his formal sitting place on the door side of the front wall, i.e. the side of the affines. Sibling terms and personal names will disappear between the spouses when addressing each other. ~~The fact is that~~ The terms ^{of address} which are abandoned in the new conjugal situation are not replaced by anything else ~~between them~~ until the birth of the first child, which results in the adoption of teknonyms. It points to the great difficulty which two individuals of opposite sex (husband and wife) have to overcome in facing each other when they are left to themselves in the transitory period of early married life.

This period is marked by an ambiguity which cannot be resolved until the coming of a child to serve as a justification (the continuance of the lineage) for their sexual relations, as a ~~mean~~ ^{mediating} term and as a means of communication between them. The situation is not made easier by the replacement at

marriage, of 'potential in-laws' terms of address to the wife's parents by normal terms for parents, although this is mitigated by the addition of a facultative qualifier meaning 'in-law' to the normal terms for father and mother.¹

The same difficulty is encountered by many societies of the archipelago - including the cosmopolitan modern Indonesian of the cities - which hardly allow spouses to address each other as spouses. They carry on from pre-marriage life the usage of the terms for younger sister to the wife and elder brother to the husband. In south-middle Timor the obstacle is only overcome at the arrival of a third element between the couple, the first born child, and by the teknonymic use of its name.

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Banin, cf. *infra* pp.427-30 and note 1 on p.429.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HOUSEHOLD

'Famili' is one of the few words that has been widely adopted in Tetun language and it is known by practically everybody, even among those who are exclusively monolingual. But the term family is as imprecise in its uses in Tetun as it is in both the European languages through which it has been introduced here. It takes the place in Tetun of a variety of more specific terms which are not commonly heard in everyday use, most probably because they are too specific.¹

Inan feton is the composite term which best describes a household; ina.n, mother, and feto.n, sister, are in fact the two main categories of occupants of the house from the point of view of male Ego. It includes Ego's mother, mother's mother, their sisters, Ego's sisters and their daughters as well, although the latter are designated by another term: feton uan, lit. sister('s) child(ren).

Inan uan, lit. mother child(ren), appears very similar to the first term cited but it is applied by

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The prosodic rule that a meaning should be conveyed by 'bracketing' it between two words, one of which expresses less and the other more than what is meant, proceeds from the same reluctance for precision in expression.

male Ego to his wife and her children. This is the closest designation for the nuclear family in the South Belu usage of Tetun language. In none of these terms, it will be remarked, are the men, either as father, husband, brother or son, mentioned. The adoption of the word 'famili' thus fills a gap here when it is used for husband, wife and children. Although the nuclear family exists, the language does not provide a term for it.

Brothers, however, are included in a term which covers the sibling group, kmaluk. The radical malu, which comes straight from the Original Indonesian stock, expresses the idea of couple, pair, of the unit which two constitutes, the one being typically the sister, and the other the brother. Ha feton malun, is my own sister and nia nan malun, his/her own brother.¹ By extension it applies to Ego's brothers as well and to their parallel cousins on both the mother's and the father's side. Kmaluk, can thus also mean all members of Ego's age class (rather than generation, which is termed labis) who have roughly the same status, i.e. for a commoner kmaluk does not include nobles or slaves, neither does it include his actual or potential sisters' husbands or wife's brothers who are ria.

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The elements of this root word are found in several other combinations balu, the other, opposite side or half; falu, to fold in two (of a cloth); and perhaps also fali, again, anew; fila, to return, in return, back, to turn the turf upside down with digging sticks, to turn clothes inside out.

A wider imprecise meaning is attached to the term mamaluk. It is a general term in which the prefixation of ma can be understood as an augmentation or a reduplication of kmaluk, not so much in the sense of a diachronic repetition of kmaluk from generation to generation as in the synchronic sense of sibling groups which are linked to one another by affinal relations. Mamaluk includes all the people who have relations of some kind with one another. Such people are referred to by Ego's group as ema itak, our people (ita,k is from the inclusive 'we' ita, cf. Malay kita) whereas those who are not are known as ema matak, strangers. Matak, as seen earlier, means raw. This denomination may be interpreted as pointing to the fact that such strangers have not come into Ego's houses to marry his inan feton, his mothers and sisters. They have not been included in his group, they have not been shaped, moulded to his group's way of life: they are raw. There is only one short step from this conception to that in which ema matak are considered wild, savage, enemies.

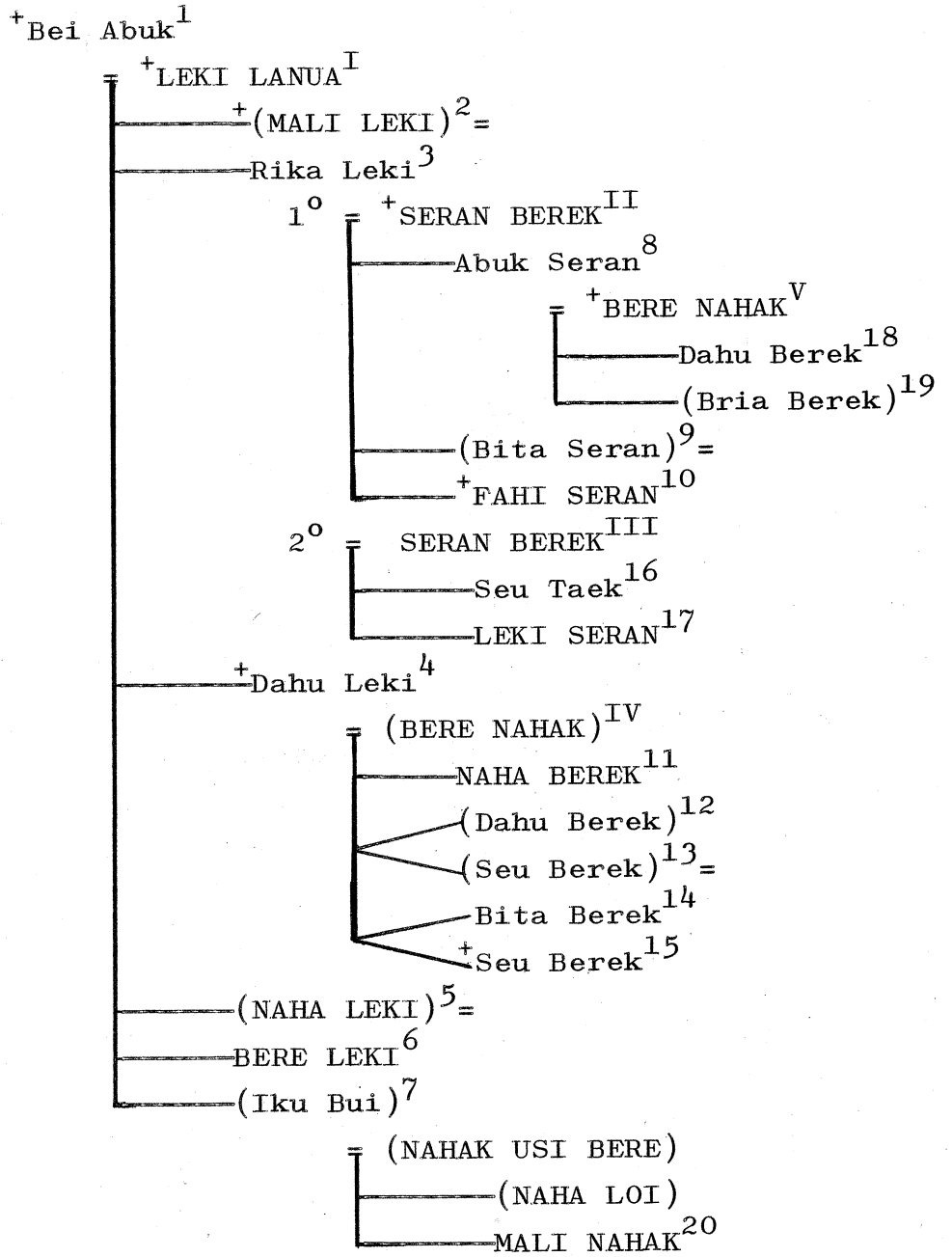
By extension and secondarily, mamaluk includes the kmaluk of several ascending and descending generations, since one marriage between the kmaluk of two distinct local groups at any time in the past is enough to justify the continuation of relations, such as visits, mutual help and the arrangement of new marriages both in the present and in the future. Mamaluk is also a term which is imprecise enough to be easily replaced by the word 'famili'.

Section I: The House Residents

Although the inan feton group is equivalent to what a man will call ha uma, my house, it does not follow that a single house shelters that many persons, to whom husbands and unmarried sons must be added. The largest houses in Suai rarely have a chamber of more than 6 x 6 metres, which allows 6 x 3 metres for the platform, but about 55 per cent of houses have measurements which do not much exceed half of those above. Many houses of Wehali proper are still smaller and none is larger. A large house, such as that of Bei Sere Ikun, the construction of which has been described in detail, was inhabited in 1963-64 more or less permanently by 11 persons, 7 of whom were adults. This number can be considered as a maximum but the average nevertheless is high in the villages of the Suai type, with 6.3 inhabitants per house, as compared to the average of 4.5 for the whole of Wehali as revealed by the 1961 Census, and in comparison with other villages of Wehali.*

*

Bui Teu, a young women of Bakateu, lived in a house of just over 2 metres in width and where the platform protruded by a mere 80 cm. in front of its lor-door, with her mother, her father, her younger sister and brother aged about 8 and 5 years respectively, her husband and her newborn child. Her elder brother had married out shortly before her husband moved in.



Abuk	Woman's name	=	Married
LEKI	Man's name	(---	Moved out
+---	Deceased	1, I,	References to the text

The persons who moved into the newly built house were firstly Rika Leki,^{3*} alias Bei Rika Badak, lit. grandmother Rika the Short, the landlady of the house and the eldest of the inan uan, inan feton group. She had with her Abuk Seran,⁸ one of her two daughters of a previous marriage to Seran Berek Besin^{II} from Kamanasa in Portuguese territory, deceased. Abuk Seran⁸ herself was a widow. Her husband Bere Nahak,^V alias Bere Nuka, lit. Bere the Small-Pox, had been killed some four years earlier by a crocodile while fishing in the mangrove swamps. Abuk Seran⁸ also had one daughter with her, Dahu Berek¹⁸ aged 8. Her second daughter Bria Berek,¹⁹ aged 6, was being brought up by an old remote kinswoman, Bei Abu Berek the Deaf, eventually to take her succession in a ritual function in a nearby sacred house, Uma Olès. Recently married, Bei Rika's second daughter Bitu Seran,⁹ alias Bitu Bot, lit. Bitu the Big, had just moved in a small empty house which she had bought for the price of one cow and one piece of woven cloth. Bei Rika's second husband Seran Berek Tabora,^{III} alias Bei Sere Ikun, lit. grandfather Seran the Youngest was a widower and they had together two more children, one daughter and one son who lived with them. Bei Rika's sister Dahu Leki⁴ had died and her husband had remarried into a different house. They had had five children. The elder Naha Berek¹¹ was still unmarried and lived in his mother's house. Of his four sisters - in two sets of twins - only one,

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Numbers indexed to names refer to the previous table.

Bitu Berek,¹⁴ lived there permanently. The first set of twin sisters had been separated at birth: Seu Berek¹³ had been sent back to her father's house, and Dahu Berek,¹² alias Dahu Bot, Dahu the Big, had only recently been exchanged for Iku Bui⁷ her mother's sister. Bitu Berek,¹⁴ alias Bitu Kiik, Bitu the Little, was the only survivor of the second twin birth which resulted shortly afterwards in the death of her mother and of her sister Seu Berek.¹⁵ Bere Lekil Lanua,⁶ Bei Rika's unmarried brother, in principle, lived in her house as well. In fact he was very often away on trips to Atambua, to Alas and to other places in the hills, and the impression was that he was looking for a wife to bring back. Their younger sister Iku Bui,⁷ Bui the Youngest, had moved on the death of her father to his natal house Uma Kotos only a few yards away and had married there to Bei Suai, makoan and former temukun of the village of Suai, who was also a widower. She had two sons aged ten and two, but in between she had had four children who had died in the early months of their lives. A seer had been consulted and he had found that to avoid further deaths she had to give birth, feed and sleep with her future children in her natal house, not in Uma Kotos. This remedy proved to be successful, but she had to be replaced in Uma Kotos by her sister's daughter Dahu Bot¹² since the removal of Iku Bui entailed that none of her future possible daughters would be born and bear children in Uma Kotos. Her elder son and her husband were scarcely affected by this removal and spent most of the time a man spends at home in Uma Kotos. As for Iku Bui, she was seen

almost indifferently in either house. Only at night was she to sleep in her natal house with her young child, while Dahu Bot slept in her aunt's house with Bei Suai and his son, each in their own quarters. Sometimes however, Iku Bui left her child under the care of her sister and slept alone in the chamber of Uma Kotos.

Several features of the domestic organization already emerge from this picture, but first of all it appears that this particular house has a male/female proportion of inhabitants comparable to the average found in Suai village: 3.1 men to 3.2 women per house.* Bei Rika Badak's house also conforms to the average fecundity of women in her village. The five married women had had 4.8 children, 3.6 of whom were still alive or had lived at least till marriage age. The corresponding rates for the village as a whole are 4.49 and 3.62.** Bei Rika did not remember that her mother had lost any named child. Miscarriages, still births, and children who die in the first few days up to a week of age before being given a name,

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A survey of the village of Tabene, chosen as fairly typical of Wehali proper, shows that houses have an average of 4.6 inhabitants, 2.4 of them men and 2.2 women. I have no explanation for this inversion of ratios.

**

In Tabene, mothers have 3.38 children of whom 2.68 reach the age of marriage, i.e. 20.7 per cent of their offspring die before reaching age of marriage.

equivalent to death and his daughter was sent back to his own natal house. The matter was thus settled without crisis. Disruption of the nuclear family however followed when his wife Luruk died shortly afterwards and, once their two sons had married out, the house became empty. It is the house which Bitu Bot⁹ bought shortly after her marriage.

Bei Rika Badak's³ house itself had no name of its own. It had branched off from Uma Bot Uma Leki Malik when Bei Abuk,¹ Bei Rika Badak's³ mother, had married to Leki Lanua,^I a man from Uma Kotos. Both had lived for a few years in Uma Bot, the big house, before they could build their own house, a uma kiik, small house, which was only to be replaced in 1963. What had happened ⁱⁿ ~~at~~ their generation had not happened ⁱⁿ ~~at~~ their own children's generation but only at their grandchildren's; ~~namely~~ Bitu Bot,⁹ alone of her generation, branched off in her purchased house.

This house, Bei Rika Badak's³, as well as five other houses grouped in the vicinity of Uma Bot, all constituted one uma, house, under one name, Leki Malik, and were all situated in the middle of the northern part of Suai village.

X
Fragmentation of such 'big houses' into branches, and of the latter again into smaller ones, occur in a way which does not result - in the immediate nor in intention - in anything else than a material splitting of the Uma group. The stock of Bei Abuk¹ and Leki Lanua^I did not separate itself in any jural or ritual way from Uma Bot. Their children and grandchildren still belong to Uma Leki Malik. Bitu Bot⁹ herself, by choosing to live under a separate

roof, does not separate herself from Uma Bot more than from her own mother's house. They are all related in the female line. The whole group is situated within the range of matrilineage to matriclan, while the individual household ranges from nuclear to extended family.

At the construction of such a secondary branch house, no particular division of ritual or profane property takes place. The ritual objects (sabres, kakaluk betel pouches, etc.) and valuables (Chinese bowls and dishes, ikat-dyed woven material, silver ornaments, etc.) stay in the old house from which they are neither shared nor removed. The couple themselves only move away in a strictly physical sense, and they cannot be said to leave the house (sai uma) as do brothers at marriage and daughters at their father's death.

In short, people insist on considering the group formed by one house and its offshoots as one house, which is reflected in the way a member of any of the houses of the uma group refers to anyone of the other houses as ha uma, my house. As there is no expression to distinguish this uma group specifically from the discrete buildings and their occupants which constitute it, it is well conceivable that the conditions of life were such until comparatively recently that there were scarcely enough offspring who reached the age of marriage and that, as a consequence, a uma rarely exceeded its physical limits. This impression is reinforced by a comparison of the state of the village of Suai at the time of my enquiries and its plan as

given by Ormeling [1957:227, Fig.34] who made his survey in 1953. This shows an augmentation of 30 per cent in the number of houses over ten years. Though material available for comparison of small units is limited to these elements, the people themselves state that their numbers have greatly increased in the last two generations or so. However, they are not troubled by the lack of discrimination in the language between the two kinds of uma, one being the matrilineage, the other the separate houses which, by gradual extension and taken together, constitute the former.

Uma, in the wider sense, is distinguished from other similar groups for its members by the fact that it is the largest exogamous unit, or to put it in another way, the largest husband-giving group. In the case of the Leki Malik people, it is already difficult to trace back their descent to a common female ancestor to whom they are matrilineally related, and they themselves make no attempt at it, but for most others it is quite impossible. However, two individuals in one of these groups express their consanguinity by saying that their mothers were sisters: inan bin alin, lit. mother(s), elder sister, younger sister. That this is actually so or that their respective mothers were only parallel cousins, or even daughters of parallel cousins, is immaterial. This relationship entails that two individuals of the same generation consider themselves as siblings, bin alin (bin: eZ, alin: yZ/yB), or alin maun (alin: yZ/yB, maun: eB), or again, use the more general reference term feton nan, lit. sister brother; a fact

which in itself precludes marriage between those who formally apply these terms to each other. A high degree of communalism is the rule between children of bin alin; what belongs to one also belongs to the other; one enters freely in the other's house without the formality of betel presentation. In the smaller of such extended matrilineal families (of three or four nuclear families which occupy a couple of houses), meals may be cooked in common. Prestations between the resident members of this group do not formally call for reciprocity. Finally it is only among them that mourning is compulsory.

The inversion of age order in these two expressions bin alin and alin maun does not seem to be done for more than euphonic reasons, except if the expressions are read in reverse, from right to left, for it is the younger sister (alin not bin) who enjoys a particularly favoured position in the house, while it is the elder brother (maun not alin) who tends to assume the responsibilities of the uma. This feature does not appear clearly in the instance of Bei Rika Badak's family, but her mother, Bei Abuk,¹ who was its founder, was an elder sister of her sibling group. It is her junior sister (the last to reach the age of marriage), who stayed in Uma Bot Uma Leki Malik. As in many other cultures, the youngest child is the most cherished, but here in addition the youngest sister, feto ikun, is endowed with a special status which derives from the fact that she normally retains occupancy of the parent house, the only house of the group which is 'big' in the ritual and jural sense,

if not necessarily in its actual dimensions. As it is the house where they were born, it is here that brothers who have married out and elder sisters who have come to live under a separate roof since the birth of their first children, convene when, for instance, an important decision has to be taken. Although the youngest sister who has become master of the lineage house is not necessarily the convenor of the meeting nor its chairman, she is the main witness of the proceedings, and this, in a way, brings about a rise in status over her senior siblings. There is a wealth of myths which tell how an earthly hero, sometimes given as a Liurai, has adventures with seven winged heavenly princesses. It is a rule that the main role is assigned to Feto Ikun, the seventh princess. Either she is caught and married or she rescues and attracts the man in heaven, whereas her elder sisters either escape or fail to win the man, according to the particular story concerned.

As the junior sister becomes the custodian of the lineage's sacred and profane properties, being more closely associated with her mother, she also becomes heir-apparent of her mother's functions in the few domestic rituals in which a woman has to officiate. She does not, however, become a manageress of other uma properties such as cattle and land, a role which is devolved on the men and is a typically external, overt responsibility. For men, on the other hand, the order of precedence is reversed. It is definitely seniority which is the main criterion among brothers in the determination of their respective

amount of authority in the lineage affairs. But, at the same time, the authority of the male members of a house is considerably reduced as a result of uxorilocality.

What causes an elder brother to be appreciated as a head of family is his experience of the outside world; the longer he has left the house, the better. What causes a younger sister to be appreciated as guardian of family treasures, is her familiarity with the parent house; the longer she has been living in the house, the better. This puts another stress on the house as the focus of the society with female continuity within and male discontinuity without the house.

Indeed, at marriage, a man has to remove from his natal house and leave his inan feton. In this process, he relinquishes a certain amount of membership for the benefit of his sister's husband whom a wife's younger sister calls nai, lord, although the latter is only a resident of the house, not a member of the uma.

In order to come to a distinction between the members and the residents of a house, its non-resident members and non-member residents, it is necessary to return to the concrete example of Bei Rika Badak. Although the matter in principle is simple, there are several cases where uncertainty reigns. In everyday life, the lack of definition about some of the statuses is not felt as particularly worrying but such cases provide ample opportunities for diviners to point to them as causes of misfortunes/ in the house and/or in wider groups.

In Bei Rika's house, there are, as stated above, eleven more or less permanent residents. Eight of them (indexed as 3, 8, 18, 16, 17, 11, 14 and 6) present no difficulty. They are born in the house of Bei Rika and have not moved out either at marriage or in exchange of any kind. To these, it would be legitimate to add Bita Seran⁹ who closely adheres to Bei Rika's house which she and her husband freely visit and where they have free access to betel, food and similar commodities.

Although Iku Bui⁷ has returned here and has been replaced by her sister's daughter, the practical result of the process, as far as residence is concerned, is that Iku Bui⁷ and Dahu Bot¹² are almost indifferent residents of either house. But the alternation in residence of Iku Bui does not affect the residence of her husband and her eldest son in Uma Kotos, while her second child is quite definitely a resident of his mother's original house, Uma Leki Malik.

Since his marriage in a nearby house, Naha Leki⁵ is no longer a resident here but of his wife's house, which belongs to another uma.

Bere Nahak^{IV} was still under 30 years of age when his wife Dahu⁴ died in child-birth of her second set of twins. ~~so~~ He married again in a different house, though he might also have stayed with his deceased wife's people. His case presents interesting complications which can be referred to the difficult question of mata musan children. The deaths of Leki Lanua^I who originated from Uma Kotos, of Mali Leki,²

native of Leki Malik, of Seran Berek^{II} from Kamanasa
and of Bere Nahak^V from Uma Rohan, also raise this
question.

Section II: The House Members

The house unit is drawn apart by two conflicting requirements, first, that brothers cannot marry their sisters, and second, that a house must not lose any member. Although I do not want to ~~contest~~^{deny} that it is the necessity of exchange which brings about the incest prohibitions - and there would be no ground for doing so, particularly because it is an ~~assertion~~^{assertion} reasoning which satisfies the native experts - it is more convenient in the present case to consider the sequence in reverse order and to argue that exchange of members is made necessary by the house incest prohibition: men have to marry in a uma different from their own, and for every individual given out at marriage one individual must be returned. But the uma is a capitalizing group. If one individual is given out in marriage, more than one individual is expected in return.

We would be otherwise as stupid as one who had lent a bushel of seeds on one season and who is content in receiving only one bushel in return on the next. The borrower has made a profit which we could have done ourselves, we are consequently entitled to a share of this profit,

the informants explain in relation to the mata musan system. The implication of this is clear enough: one individual of a higher value, a woman, than the one given out, a man, is expected in return at the next generation.

There is so much emphasis on the female aspects of a house that one could expect uma membership to be passed on from one generation to the next through birth in one's mother's house as well as through uterine filiation. But it is not so, only uterine filiation counts. Consequently it may happen, ~~and as this is~~ the case of Uma Kotos, the house of Iku Bui⁷ and/or Dahu Bot,¹² that a house is no longer inhabited by true native women members of the uma lineage, but only by mata musan women, such as Iku Bui, her sister's daughter and their offspring, who are not bound to follow Uma Kotos ritual prohibitions but have to keep to those of their original house. Iku Bui's father's sister's son Bei Seran Kalau, a full member of Uma Kotos where he was born, has married in Uma Samatais. It is most likely that, on his death, one of his daughters will be moved to Uma Kotos. There, she will start a new stock with a different set of ritual obligations as different from those of Iku Bui as both are from those of Uma Kotos.

Given the strict matrilineal principle of uma membership transmission, the distinction between those belonging to a given house and those who do not is simply that between, on the one hand, persons born of a woman of that house, provided she herself has been born in that house, and those who are not, on the other.

With regard to this principle Bei Rika Badak³ is a member of Uma Leki Malik, as well as her sisters +Dahu Leki,⁴ Iku Bui,⁷ and all of their daughters and

sons, Abuk Seran,⁸ Bitu Seran,⁹ +Fahi Seran,¹⁰ Seu Taek,¹⁶ Leki Seran,¹⁷ Naha Berek,¹¹ Dahu Berek,¹² Seu Berek,¹³ Bitu Berek,¹⁴ +Seu Berek,¹⁵ Naha Loi, Mali Nahak,²⁰ their daughters' children Dahu Berek¹⁸ and Bria Berek.¹⁹ Their brothers also belong to their uma, +Mali Leki,² Naha Leki⁵ and Bere Leki.⁶ But their brothers' children have no right to membership in their respective father's house, even if, as should have been the case of +Mali Leki's² daughter, they come to reside permanently in their deceased father's natal house.

Section III: The Mata Musan Child-Exchange

In the house which has been taken as an example, there is only one fairly simple case of mata musan child-exchange; all others are matters of infinite complication.

The recent branch of Uma Leki Malik was founded by Bei Abuk¹ shortly after her marriage with Leki Lanua,^I a man from Uma Kotos. On the latter's death, one of his daughters Iku Bui⁷ was transferred to her father's natal house Uma Kotos. The choice of the child to be transferred from among those available is done by the inan feton group of the deceased. Whether the two houses involved are far apart or close to each other, all the children of the dead man must be led to his natal house where his uterine kin group (inan feton: mother and sisters but also MZ, MZD plus MB and brothers) has gathered to decide which child will be chosen. In principle, all the children must be presented for selection, including married daughters with their husbands and children, though married sons are excepted as they have left the house and are consequently no longer under the control of their house of origin. It rarely occurs however that a married daughter is taken away together with her nuclear family by her father's matrilineal kin. There is one case on record, in the village of Bakateu near Betun, where unmarried sons alone were offered at the death of their father. Their married sisters and families had been withheld by their mother's kin.

The claimants, who insisted on having one of them, refused the boys and referred to Nai Wehali for arbitration. The matter had not yet been settled when I left the field. Usually, the claims are not so exorbitant and people are content to have a boy as a make-shift if no unmarried girl is available. The preferred mata musan child is a young girl who on account of her age has a fairly good chance of getting adapted to her new surroundings. Though the two houses involved in the exchange are close to each other, in many instances the father's uterine kin experience great difficulty ⁱⁿ ~~to~~ assimilate ^{ing} an older child. It very often happens that nubile girls who are transferred in this way flee back to their own house despite all the efforts (small gifts, special attentions, etc.) made to retain them.

There are two ways of preventing this from happening and one means of settlement where it has been unavoidable.

Firstly, a marriage of the mata musan girl is arranged to a man of the house; ^{this} ~~which~~ normally takes the form of first degree matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, a true mother's brother's daughter is married to her true father's sister's son. Throughout the plain, this is considered to be the ideal solution resolving all difficulties. However, several unmarried boys and girls, who were in this position and whom I interrogated on the prospects of marrying each other, all showed aversion to the idea.

Although they are referred to as nain uan,¹ lit. the noble ones,² they consider themselves too much like siblings to envisage marriage. One girl, aged about 18, upon being asked about the eventuality of marrying a youth of the house to which she had been transferred a couple of years earlier, said that this was not possible because men cannot marry within their own house. This is both right and wrong depending on how house is understood; ~~and~~ the girl was not aware of the distinction which obtains between the physical house (they both lived in the same house) and the house as lineage (the girl belonged to a different lineage, that of her mother where her father had married). When asked similar question young men usually answered:

'Mata musan girls are like our sisters, they cook for us, they weave for us, we go together with them to work in the gardens. There is no feeling of shame between us. A mata musan girl is our feto sawa'.³

1

The use of this expression is actually rather restricted to Suai and villages of similar origin. Talain is the universal technical term. It can only be rendered as 'marriageable cousins', i.e. bilateral cross-cousins.

2

I.e., the privileged couple, those who are in the most congruent type of potential spouse relationship, cf. Lévi-Strauss 1949:551.

3

Feto sawa, own sisters. Cf. Appendix E on this controversial question.

There are thus two contradictory points of view relating to marriage to a mother's brother's daughter when, through mata musan exchange, she resides in the same house as her father's sister's son. The first point of view which is held by the elders in a house reveals the interest they have in maintaining the advantage of an additional member (their mata musan niece) and at the same time of keeping a member (their son) who would otherwise have to marry outside the house. The elders' point of view is legitimate, they aim at the best possible application of the rule of exogamy while securing the mata musan girl, but it is, if one may employ the expression, house-egoistic. The second point of view is that of the individuals concerned who are so much conditioned by the exogamic principle according to which women of the house are forbidden partners to its men, that they cannot imagine such a marriage to be possible. Pressure from the elder generation in general, and in these matters particularly, is specially resented by post-war generations which feel very strongly that merdeka, independence spirit, dispenses them from submitting to the elders' 'musts', the whole of the old order being branded 'fe^uodal', and abolished by the national revolution.

Regarding the statements of young men interviewed, it is interesting to observe that they used the notion of shame which is assumed to be absent between siblings and on the contrary present - even necessary - between spouses. Brothers and sisters may go together to work in the gardens. While working,

a girl may fasten her sheath round the waist exposing her breasts without the presence of her brother causing her any embarrassment. Neither would the brothers be sexually aroused by this, so strong and efficient is the system of repression.¹ (A married couple) On the contrary, (would never leave for the field together and a wife would (only) join her husband there) in the company of either her mother or elder daughter. Similarly, a wife would never ride a horse behind her husband, though it is acceptable for a sister to ride pillion behind her brother. The 'horror of incest' is so pronounced that it extends to such eminently marriageable individuals as first degree matrilateral cross cousins when they happen to have been brought up in the same house as a result of the mata musan system.

The phrase 'horror of incest' does not actually properly apply to the situation in this society. I would suggest that to be horrifying, the idea of sibling incest must at least occur to the people's minds. But it does not even reach consciousness here, so that close contacts, intimacy and a certain

1.

The story of Dini Liurai (cf. Appendix E) in a poetic form is very frequently heard in a variety of songs to the music of which youths dance. It is also recited in courting together with several other similar stories when a young man tries to impress a girl and her people with his literary knowledge. There is little doubt that this threat (as shown by the story of Dini Liurai), together with other elements of the culture, highly contribute to stamp out of the minds any ~~volleity~~ desire for sibling incest.

absence of restraint (by comparison with the general attitude of men and women towards one another) are possible between brothers and sisters. It does not follow from this that sexual joking or even reference to sexual matters can be made between brothers and sisters. They are not made at all either between men and women, or between men. Only women, as far as I could ascertain, may indulge in telling scabrous tales while spinning round a fire at night in winter. Sexual jokes between men are only made in highly disguised forms, which made most of them incomprehensible to me.¹

1

Except for the case reported on pp.227-28. For instance one youth said to his companion on leaving a house where there lived a young girl of their age: 'Let's go', and they left. He should have said: 'Ami la'o', lit. we go, but he purposely confused the consonants and vowels to make the apparently meaningless: 'ola ima' which resembled hola lima, lit. take (away her) hand, i.e. get the girl. There was a slightly noticeable feeling among listeners that this was a shocking thing to say although most of them affected not to have understood the point. Conversely one day, while women were inside the house preparing saucers with salt and ground dry chillies to hand out to each of their male guests sitting outside on the platform, one of the women intentionally hesitated a second before pouring some salt near the chillies in one of the saucers and, pointing her chin in the direction of a boy of about 18, she said: 'No need for salt for this one'. The second unexpressed half of the sentence was: 'He has already got enough'. This was an allusion to the fact that the youth was not yet circumcised (salt=smegma). However, the difference between these two examples resides in the fact that the meaning of the first was almost perfectly concealed and that the second was pretty obvious to the audience, composed exclusively of women who all found this joke highly amusing.

A similar revulsion prevents the remarriage of a widower to his deceased wife's sister, although it is legally acceptable, since marriage is seen more as an alliance between houses than an alliance between individuals. However, since the wife's sister commonly calls her elder sister's husband maun, elder brother, and lives under the same roof, sexual overtones of the relationship are reduced under this system. Besides, other factors also contribute to prevent ^{social} ~~social~~ ~~sororate~~ marriages. One factor is that the sister who is still unmarried at the time of her sister's death is often a younger one, especially in comparison ^{with} ~~to~~ the widower, and since it is customary to keep the age difference between spouses to a minimum (rarely exceeding four or five years) the practicability of ~~social~~ ~~social~~ marriage is very reduced. Another factor is that a widower (and/or a divorcee, but they are rare) by losing his wife loses status, 'his name has already gone out' (nia naran sai ona). He has little chance to marry a virgin who has still her full value and expects to obtain a husband of a similarly full value. The sort of wives whom widowers can obtain are widows (the case of Bei Sere Ikun^{III} who married Bei Rika Badak,³ a widow), slave women (the case of Bere Nahak^{IV} who remarried in Uma Foho to a daughter of a slave woman from the hills, foho), or women who have passed the heyday of their twenties (the case of Nahak Usi Bere, alias Bei Suai, who married Iku Bui⁷ then aged at least 30).

This ~~is~~ ^s revealing ~~of~~ a certain amount of emphasis on virginity, although it is not formulated in this way.

However, while the proportion of women who are virgins at marriage is most likely very high, there is little doubt that the virginity of men on the contrary is very low. After one to two weeks have elapsed from the time of circumcision, performed here very late (between 18 and 24 years of age on those I have been able to check), the young men go ~~for a try~~ either to a hill village at the limit of the plain or to the market place at Betun where they meet hill girls from Dirma, Mandeu or Alas who prostitute themselves for a florin or two. What is implied rather by loss of value for a widow or a widower, is that, on the one hand, they have used up a certain amount of energy and maybe some 'soul-substance' in their previous married life and, on the other, that they have demonstrated that they are no good as spouses since they may be partly blamed for the death of their spouse. The expression used with reference to persons who have passed the normal age of marriage is that 'something is no good about them'. When informants can be brought to elaborate on this, the judgement generally appears to be based on a suspicion of lycanthropy. Moreover, most of the slaves whose origins I could trace were either lycanthropes themselves or relatives of lycanthropes who had been banished and dispersed.

Several cases of potential ^{Sororal} sororatic marriage situations, which did not ^{eventuate} ~~turn out~~ for either of the above reasons, were pointed out to me, ~~and~~ I have ~~only~~ known of ^{only} one which did because these reasons were either absent or no longer mattered. A noble woman of Lakekun, in Uma Makoarai, at the village of

Fatukres, had died childless at the age of about fifty and her husband, who was above seventy at the time of my enquiry, had not returned to his natal house, Uma Alin, where all his nieces had many children, some of them already grown up. He had stayed in his wife's house together with his wife's sister who was then above 45 and still unmarried. No formal marriage had to be performed and they considered themselves and were looked upon by others as a legally married couple.

There is one case on record of the marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughter, a mata musan living in the same house. It is the case of the temukun, village chief, of Nataraen Uma Fatik, at the limit of Ainstasi. This man, who was active in politics, would have preferred to marry an educated girl from the S.V.D. Sisters school, or even a school teacher. Though he considered himself emancipated from the imperatives of custom, he nevertheless gave in to the pressure of his lineage elders and married a mata musan, his mother's brother's daughter who originated from Kateri and had already run away several times to return to her village in the forest. She had come to Nataraen fairly late, over 20 years of age, and did not feel at ease in the flat and bare environment of the plain. The temukun complained bitterly of this situation and particularly of the stupidity of his wife who did not know a word of Indonesian and could not entertain his official guests properly. However, 'she could cook all right', he admitted.

The second way of retaining a mata musan girl is to transfer her at an early age, that is, when her father is still alive. A minor inconvenience is that the child is then not chosen by the uterine kin group of her father but proposed by the latter's affines. This procedure minimizes the primary object of the transaction which is that the father's uterine kin group has a right to a compensation (a girl) for the loss of one of their members (the girl's father). This inconvenience is somewhat counterbalanced by the ever-present possibility of having the little girl replaced by one of her sisters if she runs away back to her mother's house during the lifetime of the child's father. These successive substitutions are nevertheless also felt as detrimental to the father's matrikin since the assimilability of the young girl is defeated by her intuitive knowledge that, her father still being alive, the situation is not definitive.

In such cases where a man, his wife and her people decide to send one of their young children to the father's natal house, the term, as long as the father is alive, is not mata musan but oin matan. There is actually not much difference between the meaning of these terms. Mata musan is 'the pupil of the eye' (mata, eye and musan, seed, grain or pip) and oin matan is 'the face and the eyes' (oi.n, face, and mata.n = mata). Both mata musan and oin matan relate to the father's resemblance as mirrored in his child, and both express the substitution of a life directly issued from the life which has been lost either through

marriage (oin matan) or through death at the end of married life (mata musan). The choice of such terms further emphasizes how little a man counts in this society where the only trace of his passage on earth is expressed as a glint in his daughter's eyes. The explanation given for the differentiation in names is that to call a child mata musan when her father is still alive would bring about the latter's death. There is of course no ground for verifying this sort of causality, specially since a child who is returned to her father's natal house during his lifetime is never called mata musan but oin matan. Besides, it is so easy to comply with this requirement that there are probably never any errors made which would test the belief.

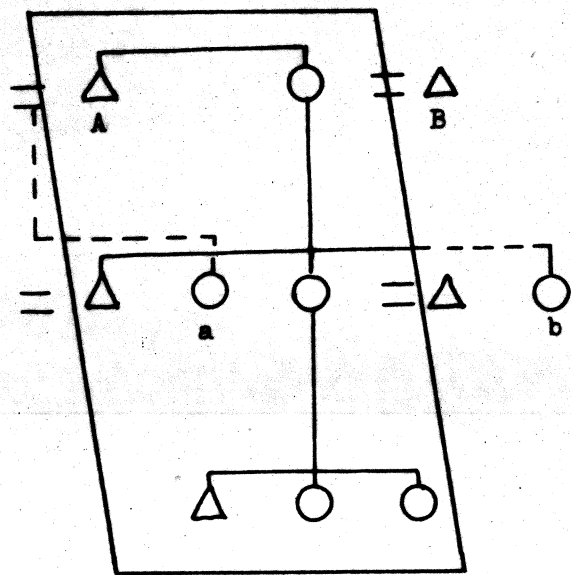
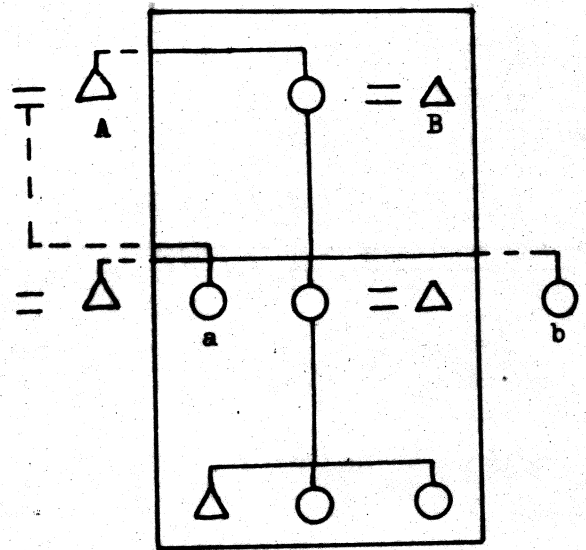
A more probing reason which might be suggested to explain the occurrence of two terms with such close affinities, the incorrect use of one of which is assumed to have a fatal consequence while the other is 'safe', is that their existence helps to resolve an ambivalence of wishes, or at least, to reduce the necessity of the resulting dilemma. The members of a lineage house as a whole are faced with this dilemma: they prefer to have women (daughters) rather than men (sons) which they partially achieve by giving brothers in eventual exchange for the brothers' daughters. Since it is only at the death of the brothers that their sisters acquire a right to their brothers' daughters, the point can be made further that, under the circumstances the earlier a man dies, from his sister's point of view, the better.

It is true that every individual belongs to two sides at the same time, but this makes the situation even worse, (for the men) particularly. If a woman's lot is divided between a wish to obtain her brother's daughter, on the condition we know, and a wish to keep her husband (who is some other woman's brother), the conflicting wishes concern two different persons who are objects. The lot of a man is much more unbearable. As a member of his lineage he might feel like his sister, and as a husband he might feel like his wife, but whether he identifies himself with either of the two, he still is the object. The ground of the conflict is on himself.

Thirdly, when it has been impossible to prevent a mata musan from fleeing back to her mother's house, the matter is settled by assessing the loss incurred by the father's natal house and when both parties have reached agreement, payment is made. There is little variation allowed for the price, it being generally one mortèn necklace. Mortèn are the most precious heirlooms of ochre opaque glass beads (Rouffaer's mutisalah). The discussions bear mainly on the length of the necklace and on the fineness of its beads. One necklace I heard of being sold brought 100,000 Rupiahs, approximately equal to the value of 10 to 15 cattle.

Between the above case and instances where a marriage has proved childless, there is one obvious similarity: no mata musan is returned for the loss of the man to his natal house. But there is a difference which is apparent in the way the

House
residents



House
members

A, B : Fathers

a, b : their displaced mata musan daughters

compensation is made. If a mata musan runs away and cannot be persuaded to stay, it is not exactly as if there was no mata musan available at all, ~~and~~ ^{the} compensation paid to the dead man's natal house must not only cover the loss of the man, but also offer a repair to a certain moral prejudice. Such compensations are called hamea oi hikar hamanas oi hikar, lit. to make red the face again, to make warm the face again, an expression which shows the peculiar type of shame by anaemia the wronged party is thought to feel, a true 'loss of face'. This is why the compensation is made in the kind of such a highly valued object as mortèn necklaces.

Compensation in the second case of absence of mata musan, that where a marriage has been fruitless, seems on the contrary to be simply concerned with material value.

But the paralleling of the two cases stresses that it is not the price of a girl which is assessed but rather that of a man. Indeed, the southern Tetun society particularly loathes the idea of pecuniary speculation concerning women ^{that} ~~as~~ is customary in the country and for slaves. Yet to say that it is the value of a man which is refunded is not wholly correct either. What is actually done is a partition of the property acquired after marriage. This division is said fa'e hafu'ut kabala no besi tohar, which means to divide the cloak from the loincloth and to divide the iron

tools.¹ The expression aptly shows how little a man's personal belongings amount to.² Although it is only an expression, a kind of adage, it is nevertheless very true that this strict sharing in half of all the products of a man's life work involves relatively little.

In one case the total ~~assets~~^{assets}, listed as the product of 19 years of a man's work in his wife's house, were:

one cow and a calf	52 young coconut trees (not yet bearing fruit)
one young sow	10 spoons
one iron cooking pot	one silver lime-container
one frying pan	2 wooden trunks
24 earthenware plates	1 length of <u>batik</u> cloth
10 enamelled iron plates	

The wife retained 12 earthenware plates, 5 iron plates, 5 spoons, one frying pan, one trunk, the cloth 26 coconut trees and the pig, while her husband's natal house took the other half of the divisible items plus the cow and its young, the cooking pot and the lime-container.

These lists were given to me from memory as I did not witness this transaction myself. I was told that what was wrong in this particular division of property

1

Fa'e, to divide, to share; hafu'ut (that which is used) to cover one's shoulders, to wrap up one's torso; kabala, loincloth; no, and; besi, iron; tohar, to break up long objects in two.

2

Cf. p.298.

was that it took place after the death of the husband. From the husband's matrilineal relatives' point of view, there were certainly more goods, specially cattle, which should have been attributed to the man's work during 19 years of married life. They thought it inconceivable that his conjugal house's stock, which could be estimated at that time at about 30 head of cattle, had not increased by more than two heads in 19 years. As for pigs, the relatives of the husband did not consider themselves wronged since it was conceivable that there were not more than one or two pigs left at his death from those he might have bought during his lifetime. His wife's stock (5 or 6 pigs at the time) was not reckoned, mainly because it was hardly distinguishable from her sisters' and her sisters' daughters. The wife's kinsmen saw the question of cattle differently. The man had been a gambler and his wife had suffered great hardship from this. The husband had many times incurred serious debts which had had to be repaid by her brothers from what was considered as their sister's house property. The debts amounted to 9 to 13 head of cattle (4 were disputable), one horse, 40 silver florins, 12 bags of maize (approximately 600 kg.) and one length of trade black cloth.

Even if it had not been for this complication of gambling debts, it is unlikely that significantly more than the items listed above would have been made available for sharing of hafu'ut kabala. It very commonly happens that a large proportion of what comprises a husband's total contribution to the

household property is concealed by his surviving wife and in-laws, before the dead man's uterine kin formally come to claim their share.

There are two means of preventing this kind of cheating which is always more or less expected to happen. The first consists in a dead man's matrikin formulating their claim over the grave of their brother during the few seconds between the time when the body is lowered in the grave and the moment when the first handfuls of earth are thrown upon it. This possibility also exists for his trading or gambling partners who still are creditors of the dead. If they do not avail themselves of this fleeting opportunity, his creditors lose all right to recover whatever is owed to them, while the only recourse of the dead man's matrikin, is to trust themselves to the goodwill and honesty of their dead kinsman's affines. Whereas no feeling of moderation will prevent a creditor from making his claim in the open, the dead man's matrikin will feel more restrained. The relationship between the creditor and the deceased having been based on associative ties involving the two individuals only, the surviving partner will not hesitate in declaring the amount of his credit, even though there were kinship bonds between them. Both matters are kept apart for the purpose. It is only as one creditor opposed to one debtor that the question is considered. Even though the debtor will not any longer be an individual but a group, the deal is still seen as personal and subject to resolution. By contrast, although they have the right to ^{make} do a similar

public statement of their claim, a dead man's matrikin would normally find the emotional tension too high to dare to do so at the funeral of their kinsman, the more so ^{because} ~~that~~ they are guests at the invitation of his affines. The fear of being unpleasant, harsh, indelicate, inconsiderate or greedy at an inappropriate time, and also a very real respect of others, are usually reasons to keep one party from causing an incident, except, informants maintained, if the interests at stake are too great or if it is common knowledge that the deceased's affines are determined to operate dishonestly. It would then become a public matter and would require the arbitration of either fukun, temukun, or higher officials according to the case.

But a second means of preventing unfair apportioning of goods is more acceptable. When a couple realize that they have reached an age when no hope is left for them to have any children (and adopted children can in no way replace own children as mata musan) with the consent of his wife and affines, the husband proceeds to make an inventory of the items which constitute his contribution to the household. Then the sharing of the goods and of rights (on fruit trees for instance) takes place and the man's kinsmen take possession of their half. In this way the man's kin feel satisfied that the presence of one of them in the other party's house is a sufficient guarantee that the drawing up of the inventory has been fair. But this may only be an assumption, as far as I could judge from the case of

Bei Bere, of the village of Bakateu, whose marriage has been sterile and who had already divided his hafu'ut kabala only a few years earlier. It by no means follows that after as long as 20 or 30 years of conjugal life, a man will still necessarily be inclined to retain his lineage perspective and defend the interests of his sisters and their daughters rather than those of his wife and his in-laws.

There are two main reasons for this. The first is that, from the day of his marriage, a man ceases to associate with his natal house in most of its activities, specially in the economic field, in order to work jointly with his wife, her sisters and their husbands. Although he remains a stranger to the lineal aspects of the affinal house from the time of his marriage to that of his burial, it is nevertheless here that he spends the whole of his post-marital life, while, though remaining a full member of his own lineage house, he is but little more than an occasional visitor there.

A second reason is that even if the husband in a childless union is fully conscious of the necessity to make a just compensation to his natal house, he does not thereby fail to realize that after this drastic operation, he and his wife have to survive on only half of their household property. In effect then, the less declared the more is left to the old couple after the sharing.

Curiously, this eagerness to ensure one's share of a man's effects (cloak or loincloth, as it is figuratively expressed) during his lifetime is not

believed to cause an early death as implied in a premature use of the expression mata musan; yet the resulting deprivation of half of his property may be said to approximate a half-life.

A great sensation of void and uselessness, of being dejected, and unwanted, was noticeable in the tone of Bei Bere of Bakateu, who lived alone with his childless wife in their house after they had divided their property at the onset of old age.

In view of their sterility, both husband and wife had been called familiarly by their agemates throughout their lives by pseudo-teknonyms which are normally replaced by true teknonyms at the birth of the first child. Kalis-ama and kalis-ina, respectively father for fun and mother for fun (kalis, a smile, a grin) were the terms the old couple deserved all their lives, having proved that they were good for nothing. But more heart-rending to Bei Bere had been the severance of ties with his maternal kin. Following the distribution of goods, there remained between them only a relation based on goodwill, any sort of compulsion in mutual aid being discontinued. The new relation is well described by its name: 'oi kbelar mata kbelar', lit. face wide eyes wide. It expresses the surprise and bewilderment with which either of both parties would meet any request for help, co-operation or any kind of service from the other.

After partition, the childless man survives physically only: his social role and active participation in life being terminated with the

sharing of the material things he has produced. Even though the punishing effect of this sharing is not formulated as such, the society certainly condemns barren parents, as reflected in the attitude of the man's matrikin towards him for having incompletely fulfilled his role of providing a link (female offspring) between two houses. The transfer of half of a man's goods and chattels to his natal house does not equate the acquisition of a mata musan. By dividing the goods, both houses record a failure in their attempt at establishing an alliance. The transfer of a mata musan, on the other hand, consolidates the alliance initiated at marriage and assures its continuity.

Nothing of the kind happens when a man dies shortly after marriage and, particularly, before the birth of his first child, but more accurately still, before the naming of his first child. It is then said: ai balu sae liu ai balu sei iha rai, one foot is up (i.e. inside), the other is still on the ground (i.e. outside the house), an adage which emphasizes the incompleteness of such a marriage. As the man has not yet made a sufficient contribution to his wife's house, there is nothing consequently to be returned to his house of origin.

But yet another case may arise which prevents the mata musan child-exchange from working smoothly. It is the case when there has been only one daughter among the couple's children. In such a case, there is no question of the father's kin claiming the only daughter herself and, in the first place, for the

mother's house to let her go out to replace her dead father in his house of origin. The father's kin take an option on the only daughter's children to come in the next generation. At first sight, this compromise reveals a certain amount of ambiguity in these matters. On the one hand, the group that claim a girl as a replacement for a man insist that the girl should be the man's own daughter. It is not possible, in the case of unavailability of a girl, for them to claim another girl from the same house in her stead. Neither a man's wife's sister's daughter nor a man's wife's daughter of a previous marriage will do. This is understandable in the former case because there is another claim over one or another of the man's wife's sister's daughters from their own father's group, but less so in the latter because there is no such competition for the daughters of a previous marriage since the question has normally been settled already at the termination of the previous marriage. On the other hand, the dead man's kin accept to put off their claim on the next generation. The common feature underlying both aspects of this procedure is the recognition of a certain degree of patrilinearity.

This procedure is known in common speech as h.a-m.otu, to group, to bring together (from the root h.otu, all, everything)¹ whereby it is meant

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Also known in the form of an adage 'Tate rai halu we' of which the first half, tate rai, means to earth up a plant and the second, halu we, to dam up water. These are gardening terms and acts, the significance of which is to invigorate a plant with the intention and hope that the girl will be a fecund mother.

that both spouses bring together their hopes of settlement on the daughter's daughter. It also means that the only daughter's obligation will be doubled. The obligation will rest on her of returning a mata musan to her father's people and one to her own husband's people on his death. If this procedure is evidence that the father's line is taken into some consideration, it also shows that it is impracticable for it to be recognized further than the second generation. If the only daughter on which both parties have agreed to the 'bringing together' has only one daughter or no daughter at all or falls into any of the many cases of failure examined earlier, the rights of the dead man's kin lapse. The man is then said to have lost his name. His descent becomes extinct and indeed, no woman of his blood will be returned to procreate in his lineage and to contribute on his behalf to the continuity of his lineage which he has not himself been able to do directly because of the prohibition of incest.

The losing of the name and the mechanisms of name transmission will be examined in the next section.

Although the mata musan child-exchange system saves a man's continuity when it is successful, it only does so for one generation after him. Matriliney, in the most favourable of the cases, manages again to defeat patriliney. When a mata musan woman has become a fecund enough mother in her father's natal house to afford doing so, she is expected to, and generally does, return one of her daughters to her own natal house. So that there will be one, or several, of her

daughters to stay with her and carry on matrilineally their mother's father's line as hudi ulun,¹ one to be returned to their own father's natal house as mata musan or oin matan, while the one who leaves this house to be returned to her mata musan mother's house is known as ramas abut.² This additional exchange seems well to fulfil the function of restoring the balance to the advantage of the female line once a sufficient concession has been made to the male line. The more so in that the exchange of children stops at this stage of ramas abut, as far as a particular initial marriage is concerned, and that no offspring of the ramas abut girl is due to her natal house which is, at the same time, her mother's father's natal house.

The return of a daughter at the ramas abut stage, however, is optional. No compulsion of the kind which is attached to the mata musan or tate rai halu we stages is any longer exerted. But besides the similarity in the expressions ramas abut and tate rai halu we, which both refer to invigorating a plant and to situations when a minimum of three daughters are

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By hudi ulun, banana head, is meant the flower of a cluster of bananas. The fast reproduction rate of bananas imposes this plant as a fertility symbol; moreover it seems exceptional that, ^{after} when a banana flower has sprouted, it is not followed in its growth by an abundant cluster.

2

The expression ramas abut, to water the root, shows that the girl is meant to reinforce her mother's stock.

available to satisfy the requirements of the child-exchange, there is a revealing difference. Whereas the aim of tate rai halu we (or hamotu) agreement is to re-establish the balance between two houses (just as mata musan, but only one generation later), the handing over of a ramas abut girl gives a definite advantage to mother-right over father-right. Although this bears no disadvantage to the cause of the father's side who retain the stock of the mata musan woman, that of her mother is definitely given the advantage, for if that house loses a girl in exchange for her father, it obtains another girl at the next generation in compensation for the lost mata musan girl. The beneficiary is the house which has received a man on top of the deal.

But the situation can also be interpreted in another way, which is more in accordance with the implication already examined earlier in this section, that men are considered as less valuable than women. Indeed, it is seen, if not as compulsory, at least as eminently desirable, that for a woman given out, one woman has to be received. Although this not achieved very often (I know only of two clear cases of ramas abut against 22 cases of mata musan out of the 144 marriages investigated in the northern tip of the village of Suai), it is only then that the process of exchanges does stop, which appears to signify that it is only then that the balance is equal. If this is so, one must now consider that the man gained at the moment of the initial marriage counts for nothing.

Such are some of the most noticeable entailments of the child-exchange system as it is practised in the south plain. A complex example, that of Bei Seran Klau, can be given of the book-keeping spirit with which the inter-marrying groups seem to view these exchanges of persons. This particular example contains one of the rare cases of ramas abut, that of Luru Nahak, but it is not on this count that it is given here, for no conflict arose from her return to Uma Samatais, her mother's natal house, as this is completed only when and where conditions for its functioning are optimal.

Seran Kaflu was born in Uma Kotos (Mane Kawaik) where the dog's head is kept. He married in Uma Samatais (Mane Ikun) to Luru Nahak. Although he was the only child born to his parents Seu Lanua (Uma Kotos) and Klau Fahik (Uma Hali Hun, Kfau Lulik), his natal house did not stay empty for, at his mother's brother's death, one of the latter's daughters, Iku Bui settled there as a mata musan.

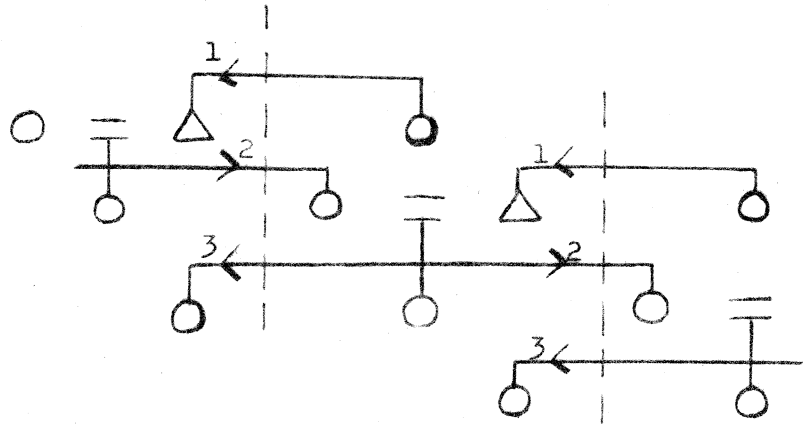
Difficulties began to arise at Seran Klau's father's death. Being an only son, apparently no other solution was left to him than hafu'ut kabala, the sharing in halves of his father's, Klau Fahik, belongings. But at this time Seran Klau was already married and had three daughters (he was to have two more daughters as well as four sons in later years). In order to avoid parting with any of his father's accumulated wealth, he privately promised to give a daughter to Kfau Lulik, though he knew perfectly well that he had no right to dispose of his daughters in

this or in any other way. He hoped, however, that ^{as} his household in particular and his wife's house, Uma Samatais, in its broader sense, ~~being~~ ^{were} well provided with daughters, it would not be too difficult to let them agree to hand over a daughter to Uma Hali Hun (Kfau Lulik), his dead father's house. If the plan succeeded the daughter would be considered from the Uma Samatais point of view as adopted¹ by Uma Hali Hun, while she would be from the latter's point of view a mata musan. Unfortunately, this was unacceptable to both parties, for the common reason that to the eyes of neither was she a daughter of Kl'au Fahik, in accordance with the principle already stated. While Luru Seran's maternal kin accepted as quite normal that she was handed over to her father's natal house as oin matan, to become formally a mata musan only on the event of her father's death, they would not admit that they would have to hand over a second of his daughters on account of his own dealings with his father's maternal kin.

Now before going any further, one has to digress into the question of marriage links between houses.

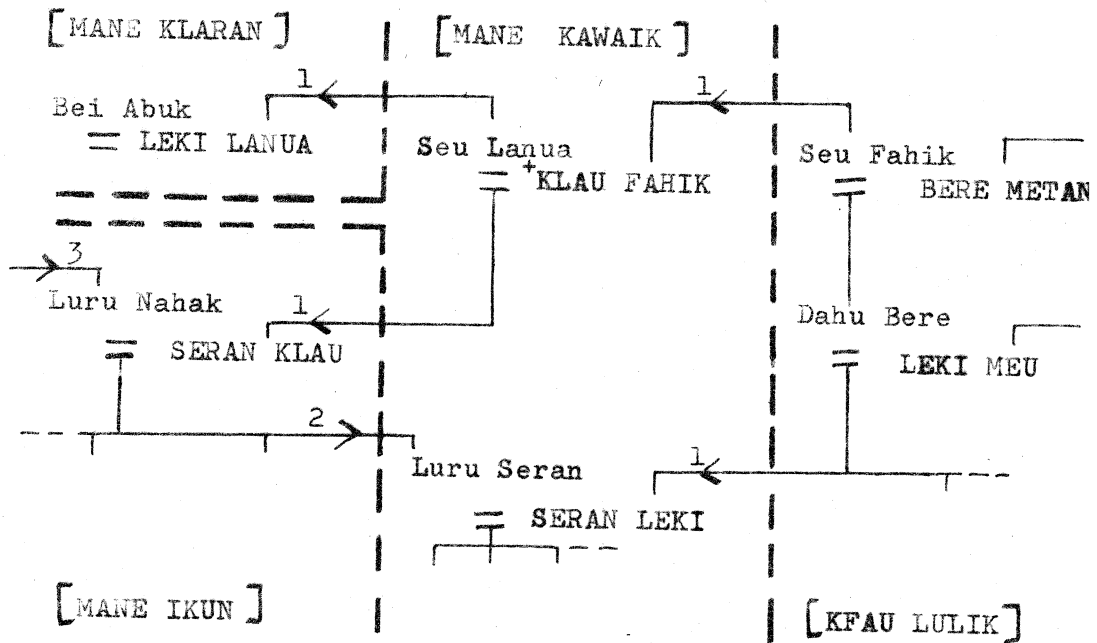
¹
Hawa'i, to bring up one's own or any relative's or neighbour's children. Without being relieved of house allegiance, strictly speaking, an adopted child is considered as one of the adopting parents' children for most intents and purposes. Hawa'i also means to dry corn, cassava, etc. in the sun. This operation necessitates much 'looking after' whatever is thus exposed and 'protection' from fowls, pigs and dogs.

RAMAS ABUT



1. mane foun, new man, married in husband
2. mata musan, daughter returned to her father's natal house
3. ramas abut, daughter of above returned to her mother's natal house

SERAN KLAU



1. mane foun
2. mata musan / oin matan
3. ramas abut

Named houses such as Uma Samatais, Uma Kotos, Uma Leki Malik and Uma Hali Hun, as already mentioned, are exogamic matrilineal lineages. They belong respectively to larger units which may be termed matriclans: Mane Ikun, Mane Kawaik, Mane Klaran and Kfau Lulik. These are ideally endogamous, but in fact most of their constituent lineages have marriage links between one another. It so happens that there are none between Uma Hali Hun and Uma Samatais, in particular, or, more generally, between the larger units of Mane Ikun and Kfau Lulik. As it is termed, there is no 'tanasak' between these two clans, a reference to the exchanges of token valuables, mainly betel and areca, placed in tanasak hexagonal baskets, which take place at the occasion of a marriage. If there have been marriages between two given houses in the past, however remote, negotiations are kept to a minimum, for it is an 'old tanasak' affair. On the contrary, if an entirely new marriage relationship is contemplated, the negotiations are said to be lengthy and strenuous, and the 'new tanasak' will have to contain more than token valuables. As I have not witnessed any such case and as the difficult negotiations are intended precisely to determine their nature and amount I am not in a position to state with accuracy what these are. My impression, however, is that the tanasak ulun, the 'head tanasak', brought in procession to the bride's house by the bridegroom's party, may not contain much more than that of an 'old tanasak' marriage, and certainly not anything which could be

called bride-price as, in both cases, it is theoretically sufficient to place a lukton, a Dutch rijksdaalder or Mexican peso silver piece, in the centre of the basket and surround it with an arrangement of fresh betel leaves fitted one into the other. It is also certain that in neither case gold money nor mortèn glass-bead necklaces are offered. The outstanding difference to be noticed would be in the importance ^{attached to the attendance} of both parties ~~to attend a~~ ~~such~~ a 'new tanasak' marriage. ~~and~~ This would involve more expenses than is generally the case, for all relatives previously consulted on the feasibility of that particular marriage would have to be properly invited and entertained.

Luru Seran, however, who was born in Uma Samatais, Mane Ikun, is already married to Seran Lekki, who is a member of Uma Hali Hun, Kfau Lulik. This is only possible, given the absence of 'tanasak' between the two clans, because, as her father's oin matan, she is technically considered as a member of Uma Kotos, Mane Kawaik. This solves the question of the replacement of Seran Klau himself in Uma Kotos, but not that of Seran Klau's father in Uma Hali Hun, and it is this question that Seran Klau would like to solve by giving away another of his daughters to Hali Hun. Why, I asked, should he insist so much on this impractical solution? There are two reasons for this, my informants said. Firstly, the simple solution of dividing Klau Fahik's belongings (Hafu'ut kabala) is no longer possible. Even in Klau Fahik's last years of life, after Seu Lanua's death, this was not an easy

thing to do, as there was no woman left in the house to preside over the sharing of goods. A hafu'ut kabala operation was still less practicable by Seran Klau after his father's death and it is nearly impossible now that the house, Uma Kotos, is inhabited by a mata musan woman, Iku Bui or her own part-time substitute Dahu Berek, alias Dahu Bot, who both originate from Uma Leki Malik, Mane Klaran.

The second possibility which is not viewed with favour by either Mane Ikun or Mane Kawaik would be to hand over Luru Seran herself again to Kfau Lulik. There had been, indeed, much intrigue in the marriage of Luru Seran to Seran Leki on which my informants unfortunately were not prepared to reveal many details, mostly because it seems that Seran Klau, a close relative of theirs, had either changed his mind a number of times or been fooled by the Kfau Lulik people. In either case, his dignity, and theirs, suffered. The plan for Kfau Lulik had been to arrange the marriage of their son to Luru Seran with the hope that he could, under one pretext or another, attract her into his own natal group, ^{This} which would be a reasonably sure means of fixing the mata musan woman and ^{would} at the same time ^{prevent} avoid them waiting another generation for one mata musan who, moreover, would not yet solve the question of Klau Fahik, but only that of Seran Leki himself.

To these speculations, those of Mane Ikun again must be added. They look to Luru Seran's offspring to obtain one of her daughters as ramas abut, as it is already obvious that she will be about as fecund

as her own mother Luru Nahak. It is specially important for them, Mane Ikun, that were she to be shifted away to Kfau Lulik, they would lose all chance to gain a ramas abut girl from her. ^{the} return of a ramas abut being, as stated above, purely optional, they would be unable to claim legally for one, specially from the Kfau Lulik people with whom Mane Ikun have no 'tanasak', no formal relations of affinity.

The complexity of the situation seems to have increased over the thirty years or so that have elapsed since the death of Seran Klau's father, but there is some hope of a solution in the future though. If the situation of Luru Seran remains unchanged, that is, as it is represented on the diagram of p.369, until the death of her own father Seran Klau, then her provisional status of oin matan will be confirmed into that of definitive mata musan, ~~and~~ Although this status is slightly inferior to that of a full-right member of the house, to that for instance of the daughter of a woman herself born in a given house, Luru Seran will enjoy a high enough membership status in Uma Kotos to be able to decide for herself on the matter of payment of her father's father hafu'ut kabala, even in the kind of one or more mortèn necklaces, if the Kfau Lulik side require eventually as much as that in compensation for their long-standing frustration. Although at the time of my enquiry, the everyday behaviour of Luru Seran hardly led one to think that she was a member of Uma Kotos rather than of Uma Samatais - as she lived in a

separate small house equi-distant from both these houses - it is likely that she would eventually become more integrated into Uma Kotos as a mata musan and gain a higher status there than Iku Bui or Dahu Bot, who are only partial members and partial residents of Uma Kotos for the reasons exposed earlier. Then, in addition, while Luru Seran's situation will be clear cut enough, that of Iku Bui presents yet new difficulties which arise mainly from the fact that she has no daughter (only one of her sons belonging to that house) and that her husband, the makoan Nahak Usi Bere, alias Bei Suai, has since died in July 1965.

It would be rash to attempt any further prediction of the eventual outcome of both these problems combined, but it might well happen, too, that none of the suggested solutions will ever be taken and that the succession of Klau Fahik will be left unsettled for a very long time. Not that the matter will be forgotten or will lose its importance in a period of changing social institutions,¹ but rather that the solution of this problem can be indefinitely postponed until the day arrives when a misfortune of some kind will hit one or the other of the particular families or larger groups involved: an outbreak of disease, death in humans, cattle or crops the cause of which could then be found to be their negligence in settling either the above problem; or, on the

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Matriliny, uxori-locality and mata musan, on the contrary, give the impression of offering great resistance to change.

other hand, it could be the effect of an omission or a mistake regarding custom or ritual. Custom experts, old men from the parties concerned, will have to convene and reach some decision fitting for the initial situation and for that of the time which may be very different from the initial situation. Apart from the cost of the actual settlement of the matter - and this applies to any occasion when it has been necessary to seek arbitration from a council of elders, assisted or not by experts, presided over or not by nobles - the party which will have been found responsible will have to pay a fine of pig meat and palm brandy for the council to consume in common. It is called ukun badu, lit. government/council, to forbid/to close, and is meant basically to prevent the people from causing any more offence which would make another meeting necessary, or, alternatively, to prevent the people from disturbing the council elders any more. This fine is to be paid whatever the issue of the deliberations and whether a party is found responsible or both are non-suited, in which case they share the cost. An adage of customary law accounts for this: tama soin sai saka, which is, lit. on entering no trouble, on going out it is tight. The intention is clear, one does not call on the elders for nothing, but it also means that although it is easy to let oneself into a breach of custom, it is hard to rid oneself of the consequences.

This leads in turn to the matter of supernatural and legal sanctions for the breaches of custom. The insight which this gives into the 'south-plain

culture-personality' will justify the digression. First of all, the supernatural sanctions (disease, death, etc.) point to the projection of responsibilities onto the ancestor spirits. It is them who guarantee the preservation of the social order and punish the living by discontinuing their tutelage. If this happens, they have to be placated and propitiated by appropriate ceremonies similar in kind to that performed at the inauguration of a house. The ceremonies, which consist of a meal offered to the spirits, are mostly meant to recall the tutelary ancestors in the house, hasae ama no bei, to make climb (again inside the house) fathers and forefathers.

Secondly, the legal sanctions in the form of fines to the nobles, the elders or the wronged party are often formulated in excessive terms: 'you owe a buffalo whose horns have the length of both arms extended or a pig which can only be carried by eight men, plus a certain number of jars of palm brandy'. In actual fact, these amounts are considerably reduced in virtue of another adage: fahi tun ba manu kusi tun ba botir, a pig comes down to a fowl, a jar comes down to a bottle.

Both kinds of sanctions point to the same aspect of the character of the south plain people which is made up of irresponsibility, absence of concern for the future, optimism and light heartedness. All this contrasts with the intensity of the hill people among whom legal sanctions are heavy fines of gold, silver, cloth and mortèn necklaces and where breaches of

custom have to be repaired as immediately as possible after they are committed or discovered. The latter is a characteristic of those men of the hill sub-culture who are concerned for their own sakes. They are active in their apprehension of the world which is theirs, it is within their reach, including the women who are part of it. They have the faculty to act on it immediately without intermediaries. To the former, the southern Tetun of the plain, whose society is not men- but women-centered, corresponds a different, though not diametrically opposed, attitude. Its passivity is due to the fact that, in the same way as Timor is ideally submitted to Wehali religious power, the men, in Wehali which is considered on the whole as feminine, are as a consequence denied all activity, all grasp on the world, since no activity is supposed to be left there. This does not mean that active powers are in the hands of the women; women are not kings, it is men who are queens if one may say so.¹ Women, however, are dominant but their dominance is that of the particular order where it exerts itself, that of powers attributed and related to death and the invisible. The previous chapter was intended to show the physical frame in which this principle operated, the house being the place where life springs, it is also the place where it ends. Both these episodes are in close association with women while the

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From Nai Bot himself down to the heads of feminine uma fukun (Uma Ferik Kawaik, Uma Ferik Kiik, Uma Ferik Rai, etc.).

men are kept outside with no apparent role to play in these major issues.

Oddly enough, the houses as lineages - and as larger groups when extant - bear men's, not women's names.

Section IV: The Men's Names

The question of personal names has to be related to the idea of preservation of a man's name, to the naming of the matriclans and matrilineages and also to the fact that it is the fathers and forefathers who are recalled in the ceremony of atonement just mentioned. These features of the southern Tetun society may also be considered as concessions towards patriliney, without, however, amounting to the recognition of a separate male line of descent.

As a matter of fact, the names, as listed in the short genealogy of p.325 above, are not personal names but naran mate bian, ancestor^{ral} or spirit names (lit. name dead soul/spirit). There are several means of imposing a name on a child and there are local variations in these means. The most common consists in reciting a list of names while the mother presents her breast to the infant, the name chosen is the one which is pronounced at the moment when the infant starts sucking. Another common means consists in giving the name of the latest ancestor to have appeared in a dream to the persons who are present at the ceremony. In both variants, this is done in the presence of the female relatives of the mother as well as a few representatives of the father's side. Both sides have an equal say in proposing names and there is little or no deliberations on ~~the matter of~~ the name among the women of the two or three ascending generations represented. Thus names from either side have an equal chance to be given to the infant.

There is a fixed rule for the second name borne by a person. It is the name of his or her father. Thus Bei Rika Badak, lit. Grandmother Rika the Short, as she is commonly known, gives her name as being Rika Leki (or Lekik) when asked to tell it. Leki was the first name of her father Leki Lanua. Her sisters and brothers all bear the name Leki as their second name. The name of their father who originated from Uma Kotos is thus preserved in his children who belong, however, to Uma Leki Malik, but the name is no longer preserved in their own children's names. Only two of Leki Lanua's sons have children. Mali Leki had only one daughter, Rika Malik (who was an instance of hamotu); and Naha Leki has three children, Hoar Nahak, Bui Nahak and Bere Nahak. None of them carries on the paternal grandfather's name, not only because they belong to yet another house, altogether different from their father's father's, but also because, as in the case of the hamotu system, practically no continuity of a man's line is recognized to the second generation.

As there are 15 to 16 men's names in all used in the plain, only ten of which being common, the number of possible combinations ranges from 90 to 240 at the very most.¹ But the understanding is that in common practice much fewer than that are used. If ten names can be classified as common, three to five only are in favour, they are: Nahak, Bere, Seran, Leki...a fact which results in great monotony and even greater confusion.

1

A permutation of n elements by groups of two.

In the genealogy of the house which has been taken as an example, Rika Leki was married successively to two men identically named Seran Berek. Even when it is taken into account that women's names are chosen from two series, the feminine 'personal' (dead soul) names plus the masculine names (their father's), repetition of names is also seen to occur in the same house. There are in this example two Dahu Berek indexed as 12 and 18. The repetition of Seu Berek in 13 and 15, however, is due to a different reason. Seu Berek,¹³ being one of a twin birth, had to be given away to some far-away house, for twins cannot by custom be brought up under the same roof. She was in fact given as oin matan to Uma Beleki at Fatukres in Lakekun in exchange for her father. Being thus lost to her natal house on two counts, the name Seu which had been recalled to the house at her birth had to be imposed again on the person of a younger sister. It is only unfortunate that the second Seu¹⁵ was also one of a set of twins and that she died together with her mother a few days after birth. Normally, the name of a child who dies is given again to another child of the same sex who happens to be born subsequently. It is again purely fortuitous in this case of Seu Berek¹³ and Seu Berek¹⁵ that things should have happened in reversed order.

Some of the confusion, however, is overcome to a certain extent by giving familiar names such as Rika Badak, the Short; Dahu Bot, the Big; Seu Kiik, the Small; or Sere Ikun for Seran the Last Born, and Iku Bui, Bui the Last Born. Familiar nicknaming of this

sort has not much explanatory value but two other means have some more value.

In a first instance, names of ancestors, which are not personal names, but are also known as naran mate bian, names of dead souls, such as Lanua, Loi, Kaleno, Tabora, are given to some children for the same reason as the 'personal' mate bian names (Bere, Nahak, etc.), that a dead person bearing that name has appeared in a dream to one of either parent's side between the birth and the naming of the child. These names have obscure meanings and their interpretations diverge. Most of them seem to have been minor mythological heroes' names, denoting some characteristic of their life history or behaviour the details of which are no longer known, while other names have been originally borne by more famous heroes. Two men of Uma Rai Uan, already mentioned, are called Nahak Samane and Leki Abakut. The former is an alternative name of Mau Kiak, the one who, after disembarking at Marlilu with his sister Bui Kiak, went out to measure and to name the land. Mau Kiak's full name is sometimes given as Samane Nahak Nahak Rai Klaran Samane Nahak Nahak Fomemi, i.e. 'the Man' Nahak on the Earth, 'the Man' Nahak the Name-Giver. The second, Leki Abakut, was the name of a leading warrior, a companion of Nai Bere Olès who fought successfully against the Melus. But when such famous names are given to contemporaries, certain ritual functions are usually entailed, namely in this case in relation to the noble houses of Olès - Maktane Siku and the war-medicine house of Rai Wal. These

names, by virtue of their being attached to individual ancestors of some fame, carry the power of giving their characteristics to the new born child. Informants maintain equally that the names are given in their dreams to children because they are to behave in life as the previous name-bearer. When their attention is directed to the difference between the two modes of reasoning, they dismiss the objection and declare that it amounts to the same thing. These 'hero' dead soul names, ^{like} ~~have not more than~~ the 'personal' dead soul names, ^{do not have} any particular unilinear connotation, ^{and} they are transmitted from either parent's side.

In a second instance, ^{an apparently recent} a development which contradicts some of the above statements ~~appears to be only recent~~. It consists of naming people, in addition to their 'personal' dead soul name, with their father's and their father's father's name. Thus, for instance, Abuk Seran (indexed as 8) would be known as Abuk Seran Berek and Naha Berek (indexed as 11) as Naha Bere Nahak. Although this has the advantage of slightly reducing the possibility of confusion, it is ^Snot likely because it runs against the matrilineal rule that it is not extensively used. Indeed, as stated earlier in this connection, there is nothing in such a system to justify the transmission of the father's father's name to his grandchildren. Names thus composed of three personal names are foreign to the south Tetun culture. It is most plausible that, as the informants themselves say, this has been introduced by contacts with the foreign administration from the beginning of this century,

families in the northern tip of Suai village and of their problems, are masculine names. The house of Bei Rika Badak and Bei Sere Ikun belongs to the Uma Leki Malik lineage which in turn is part of the larger unit of Mane Kalaran. In this part of the village, there are three large units of that kind which can be termed matriclans. Their names are Mane Kawaik, lit. man elder/first born; Mane Klaran, man middle; and Mane Ikun, man younger/last born. The groups are unequal in numbers. Mane Kawaik are all situated in the part of the village represented on p.338 and it is also the case of Mane Ikun, while Mane Klaran has about as many houses in the middle part of the village not represented on the plan. At the south end of it, many more houses, in both physical and lineage senses, are grouped under the name of Kfau Lulik and number between 342 and 427 inhabitants. It is in this section of the village that the sacred houses of Loro Suai are grouped. They are empty and have been so for an incalculable length of time. The village of Suai in itself is a diminutive Loro-kingdom whose loro-noble lineage has become extinct. Their sacred houses of Kfau Lulik and Talutu-Talobo are no longer inhabited although kept in good condition. They contain only some royal insignia and instruments of the ancestor cult devoted to these departed Loro-lords. This particularity must be borne in mind in order to appreciate the nature of such groupings as the three Mane and Kfau Lulik itself. The 1,000 Suai villagers inside the limits of a single fence are best considered as divided into four separate villages.

and this in turn accounts for their partial exogamy. Comparisons of the marriage patterns between these groupings and between actual discrete villages in Wehali and in the neighbouring 'plain' Loro-kingdoms (thus excluding the 'hill' Loro-kingdom of Dirma) shows that none is definitely either endogamic or exogamic.

Whereas the names of most of the villages of Wehali find some sort of explanation (the sense of Laran, Kateri, Uma-katahan, Betun, etc. have already been given ~~at places~~), what the three Mane correspond to is difficult to say and it is often easier to say what they are not than what they are. Mane Klaran is too obscure, but Mane Kawaik undoubtedly correspond to Mau Kiak, the brother of Bui Kiak, and Mane Ikun is Bunda'o, a mysterious character who is said to have tried to deceive Mau Kiak while he was engaged in the exploration of the newly emerged land. Mau Kiak found Bunda'o established by a fire burning on the top of a huge mound of ashes. On this ground, he disputed against Mau Kiak that he had been already here long ago, hence Mau Kiak could not maintain his claim to being the first man on earth. Mau Kiak pretended to accept Bunda'o's ^{priority} ~~ant~~eriority and asked for water, but Bunda'o was unable to find a spring and offer a drink to his guest. 'How can you have lived here so long without any water?' Mau Kiak enquired. Thereupon Bunda'o, who had hurriedly covered an anthill with ashes and built a fire on the top of it, admitted the ^{priority} ~~ant~~eriority and predominance of Mau Kiak. The name Bunda'o is still

as much in use as Mane Ikun to designate this particular group. As for Kfau Lulik it is the name of a tree ('sacred Hibiscus') for the same reasons, whatever these are, as Wehali, Wewiku and Haitimuk are named after trees (respectively, Ficus, biku and katimu, unidentified).

The three Mane are composed of a varied number of lineages as follows:

Mane Kawaik

Uma Katuas (whose complete name is Usi Leki Usi Loro Usi Bere Usi Sena)

Uma Kotos Uma Bot, Uma Kotos Kawaik and Uma Kotos Kiik

Uma Beleki (or Uma Bere Leki Berek)

Uma Bokorai (or Uma Pokorain Foiwain)

Uma Ferik Kawaik and Uma Ferik Kiik

Uma Rai Uan

Uma Ainaka (or Uma Banaka)

Uma Maumere and Uma Foho

Mane Klaran

Uma Laetua (complete name, Uma Laetua Teti Malik Laetua Bere Tahuk, in the middle section of the village)

Uma Leki Malik (complete name, Uma Usi Mane Leki Malik Usi Mane Kasabauk)

Mane Ikun

Uma Teti Klau (complete name, Uma Usi Teti Klau Lasaen Latoban, in Porguguese territory)

Uma Lawalu Maladi Funu

Uma Samatais We Soruk

Uma Maklaolia

All these names have also mythico-historical origins of a kind comparable to those of the Mane groupings, with the difference, however, that they often refer to events or characters which are less important or less ancient in the mythical chronology. It is interesting to note that among the names of Uma above, it is the 'personal' names for which the informants are the less likely to be able to retrace their history or to give the reason why they have been retained as house names, ~~Except~~ perhaps for the Usi Mane Leki Malik, the doublet of which is Usi Mane Kasabauk. ~~It shows that~~ This particular house may have some connection with the Nai-kingdom of Kasabauk (now in Portuguese territory) which played a capital role in the defeat of Lakekun. The first Loro of Lakekun had aroused the anger of his people and vassal lords by allowing his lycanthropic cat-wife to prey upon them. It is no longer known what connection exists or has ever existed between the Nai of Kasabauk and this particular house, which is not a noble lineage house. The honorary title of Usi Mane, chief or notable, is not, as it is in East Dawan language (under the form of usif), a noble title but a term of address to prominent people. In this respect, the name Nahak Usi Bere of the Makoan Bei Suai is to be seen not as a title but also as a name of 'hero dead soul'. It is one of the names of his natal house Uma Katuas of Mane Kawaik ~~and~~ The previous bearer of this name was his mother's brother, Leki Usi Bere, himself a makoan of great distinction.

It is probably unnecessary to examine more lineages names, on the nature of which very little information was available. There are, however, two exceptions: Uma Maumere and Uma Foho. They are recent enough creations for the reasons of the choice of their names to be still apparent and to help in understanding them. To the eyes of some informants, Uma Maumere is not properly speaking a lineage house. Its origin is not ancient enough for it to have gained the prestige which the other houses gain through forgetting their own origins, but mostly it is inferior in social status. Uma Maumere is basically composed of the descent of a slave woman, Bano Taek, purchased some fifty to sixty years ago from an unidentified hill group in Portuguese territory and brought as a child in their trek from Suai to their present settlement by the Uma Ferik Kawaik people. If a man called Lero, native of Maumere in Flores Island, had not come to Suai to hunt crocodiles in the sound of Maubesi sometime before the war and married her, she would probably have been left unmarried, as is generally the case of slaves. As she did not really belong to Uma Ferik otherwise than physically, the household which she settled did not simply constitute a branch of Uma Ferik but a discrete house to which the nickname of her husband, Bei Maumere, was conveniently attached.

It was certainly easier for Bei Maumere to have his house identified by his own name than it would have been for a native of Suai to do the same when he married a woman of his people and, particularly,

one of free status, although this is known to have happened in a couple of other less recent examples. One house, Uma Kapitan in Basnaba (at the limit of Dirma), became an independent lineage house thanks to the prestige of a married-in man who had been in the Royal Netherlands Indies Army (KNIL) and whose 'books' were deposited and kept there as 'lulik', sacred belongings of the house. The books were a couple of issues of a newspaper, the 'Soerabajaasche Courant' of February 1916. The other house, Uma Bei Malae in Lafoun, near Betun, preserves as sacred objects a few trade items of Chinese origin, such as a black silk bonnet and invoices in Chinese for a cargo of tea. Thus Bei Malae (malae, foreigner) may have been a Chinese himself in which case this house would not be very different from that of Uma Maumere, but his descendants denied he was one. He had only been in association with Chinese traders.

The three cases have this in common, that they are segments of matrilineal lineages which have been split off from the main lineage house, in the first case from Uma Ferik Kawaik, through the agency of prominent men. The men's origins, achievements or personalities were notable enough to enable them to separate their wives from the original lineage and create independent stocks which bear their names. Things are made easier when the woman's people are not strongly attached to the woman, as for instance Bano Taek's masters who, in a time of increased contacts with a foreign administration that disapproved of slavery, could not insist on keeping

her and her descendants completely under their control.

Women who settled in separate houses as Bitabot, a daughter of Bei Rika Badak (see above p.330) because their mother's house became too small, remain undifferentiated from the Uma group. To say that this is because women have not the capacity of carrying on the names would be begging the question. It is rather because women constitute an undifferentiated mass, the mooring blocks of a society in which the men are the loose elements. It can be repeated here, in respect of this question, that the men ~~have~~ ^{do} not ~~for so~~ ^{have} much ^{of} an active ^a part in the society of the south plain. Activity is a privilege of the patrilineal hill dwellers. The evidence of this is given by the fact that, in the three recent cases just quoted, the men have either not been southern Tetun themselves or have been influenced by the conceptions ^s of household ^{policy} ~~policies~~ which obtain in most of their peripheral societies. Although it is quite possible that these name-giving men had a higher status in regard to their wives in their households than other husbands in theirs, this has not been carried out in the following generations, when practically no difference is noticeable from all other matrilineage houses. ^{Indeed,} ~~Even more so in that~~ Uma Maumere has itself already produced a segment, Uma Foho, which has been named euphemically after the land of origin (foho, hill) of Bano Taek - not directly after her slave status - thus being again a rjposte of mother-right over father-right.

The building of Uma Foho was only nearing completion in the beginning of 1964.

While the process of segmentation simply caused by expansion seems inorganic, segmentation with partition has for its main effect that of creating a new lineage. Two inferences can be drawn from this particularity, firstly on the degree of incest prohibitions and secondly on the place of the men.

Judging by one of the only two cases of incest I have come across in the plain of Wehali, where a man had sexual relations and subsequently lived a de facto married life with a woman he ought to have called ina, mother, the minimum degree of kinship between two matrilateral parallel cousins to make their marriage possible is ^{found when} ~~when~~ they are both descended from two sisters who are at least one generation above their own mothers' mothers'. This shows that there is a distinction to be made between bei, actual grandmother (or grandfather), and bei, ancestor, that is one whose remembrance is already most likely to be vague. When both or only one of the parallel cousins' actual grandmothers are bein bin alin, grandmothers' sisters, marriage is impossible, but when these are themselves daughters of actual sisters the possibility of marriage may be considered. In the example just mentioned,¹ Naha

¹
The other example of incest was situated at Manumuti Brubit in Aintasi and dated from 25 to 30 years ago. A man had relations with his own daughter. When he realized that his daughter was pregnant and before
(continued on next page)

Berek, alias Naha Ulun, had relations with his mother's mother's mother's sister's daughters' daughter, Seu I indexed as 13 in the genealogy of p.325, or, in other words, Naha Berek's mother and his mistress had grandmothers who were actual sisters. There would have been no objection, informants said, if they had been both great grandchildren of sisters. This was only the case of Naha Berek, not of Seu Berek. In addition, Seu Berek's natal house, though sometimes called Uma Kiik Uma Leki Malik, is not sufficiently differentiated on any ground from Naha Berek's, which is Uma Bot Uma Leki Malik (or Usi Mane Leki Malik Usi Mane Kasabauk). ^{Some people} ~~A part of the opinion~~ excused the culprits ^{because} ~~on the consideration that~~ both were sent early in their lives to different houses, the woman as oin matan and as one of a set of twins, and the man as mata musan. There had been scarcely any situation where they would have been reminded that they were in a inan uan, mother child, relationship. What was unforgivable for ^{other people,} ~~another part of the~~ ~~opinion, which included~~ ^{including} Naha Berek's own mother and her second husband, was that they had not been consulted beforehand, in which case, they argued, they would have made a minimum gift of a woman's cloth to the girl's house, so as to put things in

1(continued)

anybody else in the village or in the house had noticed it, he committed suicide by throwing himself down from a coconut tree. His daughter never married but the daughter born from the incestuous relation was herself married normally and did not suffer any form of anathema.

order, or as it is said hatais fila tais sisi falilulun, lit. to clothe inside out cloth, to comb in reverse head. The intention is to disguise the girl in another character, as she would cease therefrom to be considered by the man as one of his ina ^{and was to} take up the role of talain, bilateral cross-cousin. In the past, this incestuous situation would have brought terrible punishments on the culprits who could have been sold to foreign tribes, beheaded¹ or even, some say, impaled, not explicitly² as a sanction for their fault but rather as a move to rid the society of buar lycanthropes or witches. Fornication, deliberate breaking of incest rules and other repulsive actions are here, as they were during the dark ages of European history, the evidence of devilish dealings, if not the means ^{of acquiring} ~~to acquire~~ evil powers. Despite the absence of physical sanctions, Naha Berek's mother and her husband ^{wept} ~~wept~~ and lamented over him for a day and a night, as if he had been actually executed or banished. This behaviour was considered as very ostentatious by many since they were no longer responsible for the matrimonial affairs of Naha Berek, ^{who} ~~as~~ he was a mata musan in his father's natal house, ^{and} thus under his adoptive parents' responsibility.²

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Cf. end of Appendix E.

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Between his mother Abu Berek and himself, the relationship was that known as oi kbelar mata kbelar, lit. face wide eyes wide, already noted in another reference, which expresses the surprise with which strangers look at one another, their eyes and mouths wide open in astonishment.

A second inference has to be drawn from the fact that some lineage houses and the three endogamic Mane groups of lineages receive masculine denominations. It has to be connected with the idea of the position of the men, as it has already been examined in the domestic life and in the mystical order with regard to women. The mystery which is women's life in the inside of the house as opposed to the clarity and straightforwardness of the men's, outside, ~~has for its main result to establish~~^{es/} the dualism on the basis of an organizational antithesis. What is meant by this is that whereas ~~the men are~~ ~~con-~~ susceptible to organize themselves or ~~to~~ deal (lia, voice, ceremony) with matters of organization in their own life and that of the society, there are no such possibilities available to ~~the~~ women. If there are individuals at all in this society, they are the men, not the women, but the individuality of the men does not enable them to act for their own sake^s as much as their menfolk in the hills. There, it appears, ~~that~~ men and women are individuals who, in a certain measure, act in a man's way. ~~So much so~~ (~~in fact that~~ in the hills where, ~~however,~~ women are objects, ^{and} men ^{are} ~~being~~ the subjects, positions of radja can ^{nevertheless} be and ~~are~~ sometimes ^{are} held by women. ~~The case~~ Thu has happened at least once in the kingdom of Djenilu which had a female ruler, Dona Petronella Da Costa, from 1900 till 1903. This, in contrast, is utterly impossible in the south plain, where it is the feminine, passive principle which is dominant as a whole, not through the agency of one or another female individual.

The women constitute an undifferentiated stock, an entity, that of womanhood, which is stable, fixed, passive and only divisible with great difficulty ^{to} ~~from the part of the men,~~ as shown in the process of house segmentation. Whatever differentiation is achieved in the society is done on account of the men, at least of some of them. It does not follow as a necessity, from the current ideology of this male/female dualism of the plain of Malaka, that womanhood should be broken down into discrete elements. As this, however, ^{does} happens, the phenomenon has to be ascribed to the men. In their constant struggle against the feminine principle, they succeed in imposing their own names, or names referring to certain men's notorious actions in the past, onto women's houses.

The above observations give a new value to Bachofen's conception of a matriarchal phase of the evolution of human societies, characterized by an absence of social organization. According to the Baselian scholar, this phase was universally followed by one of patriarchy, characterized in its turn by the emergence and the elaboration of political systems with or without classes and other features of organization. There is, it is well known now, no evidence to support his view that matriarchy ever preceded patriarchy on a universal scale of social evolution, but it is interesting to see the correspondence between the Bachovian and the Timorese views on the problem of the relative statuses of the sexes. ^{In pehalex,} ~~and mostly that~~ both consider mother-right

as inorganic.¹ For Bachofen, women were dominant at one time of the history of humanity; for the Timorese their dominance is restricted to one area of their island. In the plain of Malaka, a feminine area where the people live their ideology, woman's dominance is expressed by considering one pole of the dualistic symbolic classification as superior to the other. Some of the antithetic elements in the dualism ~~which is~~^{are} not so very different from those one meets in numerous other societies, including those examined by Bachofen through his classical sources. Some elements of the all-pervading antithesis, such as death, night, heat and the sacred, and amorphism, because of their symbolic association with womanhood, are given a higher value ^{than} ~~to~~ those associated with manhood, life, day, coolness and the profane, and, in opposition to amorphism, the faculty of naming. The power of the Word over Chaos is a too famous and too complex matter to be treated here, but it is not pointless to compare this role of the Word to that of lia (Tetun for word, discourse, a lawsuit or a ceremony) which is always in this context a dealing between two parties, either between the living themselves, and more especially between men, or between the living and any hostile world, more especially that where women and death are closely associated with one another.

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In Bachofen's words: '...die Unabhängigkeit des Mutterrechts von jeder positiven Satzung...' [1861:XVII].

Naran, the name, is the mark of the men, a beginning of their knowledge and mastery of death, and simultaneously a beginning of their grasp over death's representatives in the men's world, namely the women. To name the places in the Chaos of the newly emerged land has been seen as the primary duty of the first man on earth, Mau Kiak, alias Samane Nahak Nahak Fomemi (fo, to give; memi = naran, name). To name the formless mass of femininity into discrete and identifiable units, the Uma houses and lineages, is also the main role of the men, a privilege of at least the most remarkable among them.

The above reminder of the meanings of the word lia ^{seems as} ~~gives~~ an overture to the question as to the reason why it is ama no bei, the fathers and forefathers, who are the objects of invocations (lia) made on the occasion of ceremonies (also lia). In the light of the remarks made so far on the reasons which determine the choice of the names, the fact becomes more understandable. The living address the only category of dead with whom they may have some common point, the male living address the male dead. The male ancestor^{ral} spirits are alone among the dead in a position to act at all on behalf of the supplicant because they alone are expected to be as distinct from the feminine inactive mass, as the male living are themselves from their living consorts. Moreover, the female ancestor spirits, more than the male ones, participate in death and thence are bad, dangerous and unfavourable to the living. Although they belong to death as much as the female ones,

the male ancestor^{sal} spirits, however, because they are male, are thence good, more concerned with the lot of the living.

By referring to the plan of the house, it will be remembered that lia, as discussions, discourse and ceremonies, are made there either in the lor part of the house or more especially at the foot of the lor-pillar, that is in the male part of the domestic world. On the other hand, no such ceremonies are held at the foot of the rae-pillar in the region of which only 'natural' functions are carried out and that by women exclusively. Women, as living beings, participate in both worlds and this is why, as they suffer as much as the men from any disruption of the cultural order of which diseases and disasters are the effects, they have to rely upon the men acting either on the outside or in the overt lor zone of the house, and call on them to operate in the mysterious realm of the dead.

~~As~~ This brings very much into question activity versus passivity in relation to the male/female opposition. It can be said that the typically masculine activity of war is also counted among the privileges which had to be given away to the hill vassals. Indeed, only the hill people are said to have led head-hunting expeditions. No such thing was done in Wehali, even if a Maroe Rai, the noble justiciary of Wewiku whose ravages called the attention of a Dutch peace-keeping expedition to the south plain of Belu in 1906, did execute numbers of offenders by beheading.

The right of war-making, just as that of makerek bedaen, the arts and crafts of masculine character, as seen on p.106 sqq., was given away to the hill vassals. Mention, however, has already been made at places of war-rituals and war-medicine houses (uma kakaluk). Indeed, this aspect of the south plain culture is well developed, ~~But~~ this does not really run against the principle of the sexual division of rights, for what is given away to the hill people in matters of war is the act of war, the ritual part of it being retained in Wehali and the associated adjacent kingdoms. The war-rituals of the plain, essentially composed of war-medicine collecting expeditions, are, as were the part of the makerek bedaen activities which were retained (cloth, basket and pot industries), ~~coined~~ ^{perceived} as 'necessary' because they are typically feminine. This is clearly also the case of the war-medicine rituals which participate in the mystical world, ^{the} women's world. ~~But~~ ~~It should~~ not ~~seem~~ surprising to find that war-medicines are collected by the men. ~~who~~ ^{they} On such occasions, ~~they~~ leave the villages, for as long as several weeks (sometimes), during which they must not come into contact with anything feminine, not even come close to any village ~~and that~~ If their search brings their party within sight of a village, they have to warn of their approach with shooting and shouting in order that young women of reproductive age, but particularly the unmarried ones, may have time to hide themselves inside the houses.

Beliefs of this order integrate themselves well into the total politico-religious conception of the island and the pieces ^{fit} put themselves easily together. It is not, for the informants, a matter for doubt that if the people of the hill region lead a promiscuous life and, as a result of numerous provoked abortions in premarital life and probably also of venereal diseases, have a diminished fecundity, it is because women of the hills participated actively in head-hunting ^{activities} functions. Although they did not actually fight, they might follow the head-hunters to carry on their marital duties. On the return of the war party, they joined the dances and together with the men kicked, insulted and scorned the severed heads round which both sexes, mixed and, arm in arm, danced to the sound of the drums.

In contrast, in the south plain, besides the precautions in the vicinity of villages there are prophylactic measures to be taken against the dangerous war-medicines and the collecting party in order to prevent women from becoming promiscuous and sterile. On their return, the war-medicine collectin party are met outside the village by the elder women, those who have without doubt passed the age of child-bearing. They welcome the men with a meal of roast meat and fruits, prepared and consumed well out of sight of the village. ^{Meanwhile} while the mature women and the non-participant men¹ back in the village

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Those who belong either to a different kakaluk brotherhood or to none.

are busy preventing little girls from joining little boys who rush out to admire the warriors, all equipped with century-old surik samara, empanached sabres, aroused by the excitement of their anti-Likusaen song and obsessing drum beats. On entering the village to deliver their raw medicines to the particular uma kakaluk which needed replenishing, they are met by old women again who, in a compact row, attract the group of the medicine collectors which the non-participant men pretend to repel with a display of mock fight and blank gunshots. The dangerous parcel of medicines is then handed over, not to a man or an elderly woman, but to a young woman who is attired in long robes in the fashion of a male warrior of the hill regions. It is only then that it is safe for the village population to greet and entertain the warriors while the feto mane, woman man, deposits the medicine bag in the kakaluk (bag) house. If then men join young women to dance in a likurai spiral (cf. plate V no.2), it has a very different meaning from that of the hills. The dancers on behalf of the population 'cool themselves down' while the 'hot' sacred medicines are processed and stored inside the kakaluk house (built on exactly the same pattern as a dwelling house) where it stays 'hot' and ritually potent, lulik, i.e. sacred.

In the hills the product of an expedition, a head - not the magic items to warrant one - is brought back straight into the midst of the village where its potency is allowed to spread directly among both sexes and to contaminate them. It is from the main

uma kakaluk of the plain that the vassal kingdoms obtained these medicines in the past. Trade routes for these particular goods were the same, it is said, but in the reverse direction, as those used to bring the valuables which the vassals contributed in order to feed the mother-kingdom, Wehali. Thus both sexes in the hills are seen as participants in the war activity while in the plain, the men's active role of securing the deadly powers of the medicines is only temporary. They only hand over the dangerous objects to the women who store them, ready to be distributed again as demanded by those who use them. The users were primarily the warring vassals, for their formalized warlike activities of head-hunting and the users still are, occasionally, the men of the plain, for whom only war substitutes exist: stealing, gambling, horse-racing and cock-fighting for which the kakaluk medicines are believed to be potent.

It appears, consequently, that the procedure of the return of the medicine-collecting party is a disarmament of the men, a neutralization of the supernatural powers which they have secured for a time. When the medicines are put away inside a house a uma kakaluk, thus under the control of women, and the men ^{are} allowed again to mix in a dance with women, things are back again in the order which prevails there; women hold the occult, dominant, sacred power and when the men are thus deprived of it they return to their accessory, subordinate, profane activities.

The proportion of criminal offences committed in the hills and in the plain reveals more

aggressiveness on the part of the hill dwellers, which is in ^{conformity} ~~(accordance)~~ with the above inferences.

From the end of 1962 to the beginning of 1964 (20 months), 40 complaints were registered in the agenda of the Civil Guards at their office of Betun. Some of the cases were settled at the tjamat or Liurai levels, while others were handed over to the National Police or forwarded to the public prosecutor at Atambua. A number of crimes, specially in remote places of the hills, presumably remained unnoticed by the authorities in Betun or else were settled locally, sometimes in defiance of the criminal code.

Ten complaints only came from the plain area as against 30 from the hill area of Malaka Timur. The proportion is thus 25 per cent for the plain to 75 per cent for the hills, while the population proportions of the areas considered are 46 per cent and 54 per cent respectively.

The distribution of offences is also revealing of the nature of aggressiveness in the respective areas:

	Plain	Hills
Population per cent	46	54
<u>Number of cases of:</u>		
Assault, battery, abuse, etc.	0	10
Rape	2	6
Adultery	1	5
Unpaid debts, swindling	5	0
Stealing	1	7
Breaking of fences, land disputes	1	2
	<u>10</u>	<u>30</u>

The numbers are small and have not been submitted to tests because the first category of offences (assault, battery, abuse) emphasizes clearly enough the point made here. A 0/10 relationship is almost certainly significant.

CHAPTER THREE

THE HOUSE MASTERS

By uma nain, the masters or lords (nai.n) of the house, is meant, in common speech, simply the house's occupants. But, more strictly speaking, the only ones who deserve the title of uma nain, among the men who are somehow attached to a house, are those who were born in the particular house and, as has already been seen, preferably those born of a woman who has been born in the particular house. They are thus primarily opposed to the mane foun, new men, or laen, husbands, who have little or no rights in the house into which they marry in virtue of the matrilineal and uxorilocal principles.

The distinction applies also among the women of the house. Although mata musan and ramas abut girls are legally full-right members of the house, they do not exactly enjoy a status equal to that of the girls, born of women themselves born in the house, especially when these are still there.¹

The basic difference of status between occupants of a house is that which exists between sexes.

The dominant position of women in the society of the southern Tetun will already have become evident on a number of points. Such is the case particularly

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Cf. the case of Luru Seran in Uma Kotos, p.366 sqq.

with respect to ownership and use of land as well as to ritual and profane house property. Women's dominance was also particularly obvious in the sitting order in the house while taking meals and dealing with public matters.¹ But it is expressed more vividly and at a still deeper level of the symbolic order when linked to matters concerning sexual life.

¹
Pp. 291-6.

Section I: Woman's Indivisibility

By carrying to its extreme the principle of uxori-locality, the society of the plain of middle Timor gives the ultimate control of land to women. This has been made apparent in Chapter IV of Part I (p.158). But to develop the analysis, it must now be made clear that in conformity with the current dualistic view of the world, women possess land only in the ultimate sense. That is to say, the land is theirs as much as the earth itself; the house and its contents are feminine in so far as the land and the earth are associated with the personage of Nai Bot, the feminine Keizer.

That land cannot be the object of any form of personal property, hence of transactions, follows from the indivisibility of the women themselves. Although it is the men who work the gardens and open new plots of land, they are only indirectly related, as owners, to the particular garden which they bring under cultivation. Their relation to the land is through the house to which they belong at their period of life under consideration. Unmarried, their holding is through their mothers' and sisters' house. Married, it is through their wives' and daughters'. At marriage, no land transaction as such occurs but a reallocation only.

A man will say 'my garden' rather than 'my mother's garden' or 'my wife's garden'. Women do not

actively take part in the discussions involving the allotment of land to their sons or to their sons-in-law. In that respect, then, it can be maintained that the land 'belongs' to the men. For land is not the direct concern of women in so far as it is only occasionally that they participate in garden work, principally sowing. Land is directly the concern of men in so far as it is administered and exploited by them, but then their relations are indirect; they work on behalf of the women to whom they are at that moment attached, either by filiation or by affinity. So men, in effect, are the women's executives.

Such is the rigour of the rule of uxorilocality that the father-in-law, as senior resident of a house, notwithstanding his de jure ^{membership of} ~~belonging to~~ another house, is the only one to decide which plot will be given to his new son-in-law. His wife's brother has already moved out of the house to the one where he married and, although he has not lost all interest in his natal house, he is no longer so well acquainted with its practical issues. The unmarried sons, who may still be residents of the house for some time, are already conscious that the day will come when they will have to give up their garden to take over a new plot in their future wife's house. As in other aspects of the social life in this region, men belong, only in a transient and incomplete way, to a house. In name, they have rights in their natal house but cannot exert them, because they live elsewhere, while in the house ^{where} they live ~~and to which~~ they are expected to contribute in most activities,

^{yet}
~~they~~ have no formal rights. The result of this is that the fixed point of the society in this shuffle is women. They alone enjoy the continuity and stability which gives them ultimate authority, albeit a mute authority.¹

At marriage the men, on the contrary, are forever severed from their natal houses. The severance from their parents is such that, contrary to the custom of the Chinese communities settled among them where it is the bride-parents who lament, it is the bride-groom and his kin who shed tears among the southern Tetun. Further, he is not expected to contribute any longer to his natal house's welfare. Only when there is abundance is he allowed, even told, by his wife, who alone can initiate the move, to give a measure or two of his new garden's produce to his mother. This contribution is called tutur hae, which describes the behaviour of a hen holding out in its beak a blade of grass (hae) and chucking (tutur) to call its chicks. The same term is employed to designate the meal which the elder women provide for the men on their return from the medicine-collecting expedition mentioned at the end of the previous chapter.

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Mute and dumb, it should be said. Firstly, as mentioned on p.xxi of the Note on Pronunciation..., women's disagreement with men's proposals and actions is not vocalized but only expressed by a click with closed lips. Secondly, the dumb authority of the feminine diarch is illustrated by the not irreverent denomination sometimes given to him of feto kbeik lawarik beik, lit. woman stupid, young girl stupid. Nai Bot's office, it is recalled, is actually held by a man.

~~To remain~~^{Continuing} with the question of property rights, those over horses can be mentioned,¹ while those over cattle do not warrant ~~a~~ particular mention as they are almost identical to those over land. It may sometimes happen that a horse is considered a man's private property. This is mainly the case when he has acquired the animal by ksotir, chance, which may mean that he has obtained it by stealth although, in that case, it is rare that he may retain it. He may have captured a horse that has gone wild; there were several such cases after the departure of the Japanese troops, who had requisitioned horses from distant places so that the owners could not easily reclaim them. He may have acquired the horse through wins in gambling at cards or dice, or cock-fighting. Finally, he may have purchased it with profits from the sale of surplus garden products (mongo beans, rice, tobacco) before marriage.

An unmarried man is less compelled to surrender profits to the house where, being single, he has less responsibilities. This situation, however, is also considered as ksotir, for work alone is not enough to obtain a profit: the supernatural counselling and help received from ancestor^{ral}~~or~~ spirits, provided they are properly honoured, can even be said to be the primary condition of the success of a man's enterprises. The horse acquired in such a ksotir way is hardly separable from the man, the more so in

Cf. supra, p.186.

that the men tend to form strong emotional bonds of attachment to these typical prestige creatures. These bonds, however, are of the same nature as those formed between a young boy and the horse which he has been given in his natal house and to which he has become attached from early adolescence till marriage. Yet he must separate from his horse on reaching marriage and leave it behind, even if it were given him by his father.¹ For the acquisition of a horse by the father is not a matter of ksotir for himself or for his son, but primarily for his wife's house. Thus the horse is inseparable from the house, as is all the property the house contains.

If this does not further indicate the prevalence of women's direct rights over men in matter of property, at least it indicates the absence of such rights in the hands of men.

I repeat, consequently, the term being more apparent now in this context, that the women hold the ultimate rights of property. They have them negatively, in the passive sense, but it is only by reference to them that rights can, ultimately, be determined. The men may possess property, in that they use it and refer to it as their own, but it is by reference to the women that the reality of the situation can be appreciated.

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And whether the man's move at marriage is a matter of a few metres or of several kilometres.

Section II: Inversion of Symbolism

Some inversions of the symbolic associations of the sexes are made necessary by the dominant situation of women and these inversions clash with most other antithetic symbolisms of the literature.¹ The most remarkable instance of this is the association of the square and the rectangle parallelepiped with the female sex and of the circle and the sphere with the male sex. ~~since it~~ ^{Thus} is the reverse ^{of what} ~~that~~ has often been used - the square only to be replaced by the now generalized triangle - in the representation of the sexes in our diagrams, and there is no need to insist here on the male character of corners and sharp angle and the female character of round lines and smooth curves.

Some instances of these associations have been made apparent in several respects, namely that of horticulture² where it was shown that gardens and cattle pens of Wehali were square while those of the hill countries, the states subordinate to Wehali, were round; that the ritual garden of the feminine overlord, Nai Bot, at Laran was similarly square (and qualified as dark, obscure) while that of the male ruler of the diarchy, Liurai, in Fatu Aruin was round (and qualified as clear, light). By relating the square and round shapes to the two

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Cf. for instance in van der Kroef (1954:852) where 'exterior' is listed under 'left' and 'female' while 'interior' is under 'right' and 'male'.

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Cf. supra, pp.155, 179.

poles of the diarchic government of middle Timor another notable inversion becomes manifest.

The seats of the feminine and masculine authorities were respectively qualified as higher and lower. The superiority of the female sex was confirmed in ~~consideration of~~ the sitting places of the sexes; ~~where~~ women of whatever ^{so} class, category or age always sat together one grade higher, inside the chamber, than any of the men sitting outside it in their proper ranking order. The opposition frequently met elsewhere of highland to lowland, parallel to that of male and female, has also a great value here since the first is called rai mane, land of men, and the second rai feto, land of women, but it must not be seen here in terms of respective altitude. It is only due to a series of historical accidents that the Liurai lineage had to leave the vicinity of Laran in the plain and settle in the mountainous regions of Fatu Aruin, Manlea and Insana, ^{thus} no conflict is felt in the ~~actual~~ fact that Liurai's ritual settlement is ^{actually} higher in altitude than that of Nai Bot. A conflict, however, arises when it is realized that another name of Nai Bot ~~is~~ is Maromak Oan, child of the Luminous, i.e. of the sky, while Liurai means superior to or above the earth. Should this not, then, be connected with the fact that, according to those of my informants who agreed to discuss these matters, sexual intercourse is never performed by the man lying over the woman but either

from behind while standing or kneeling, or face to face but while both man and woman lie on their side.¹

Then, the sky is definitely admitted to a position above earth in the belief that the sky is a round mat on which the sun, the moon and the stars are stuck and which revolves in one piece round the earth. The shape of the earth is believed to be that of a motionless koba, the betel presentation box, which is a typically feminine object and is practical never taken out of the house. But in its role, the male sky is not so much, as it revolves above, but round the earth which it protects. The plan of the house, also, reveals this. The women's quarters, within the four walls, are protected by the roof which has the oblong rounded shape of an upturned hull. The four sides of the roof are not flat and do not join at the corners as would dihedra. The surface of the thatch is continuous. The symbolic purpose is more evident in the village of Kateri, particularly, where such usages are carefully preserved. The village is composed of several matrilineal clans, one of them feminine (Bei Rai or Ferik Rai, lit. grandmother earth or old woman earth), the others masculine by name (Bei Tema, Bei Bata, Mane Lima all masculine names). In the houses of the masculine matrilineal clans, the lowest purlin onto which the joists are fastened consists of an

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Vroklage (1952-3, vol.I:430) expresses, in Latin, an opinion which is exactly opposed to this in respect of the positions, in relation to the hill and plain situations.

assemblage of small-section rods tied together and bent to form a continuous hoop round the house, while in the houses of Ferik Rai - and this is the case even above the men's quarters at the front - the joists rest on straight beams which join at right angles at the four corners.¹

The next major inversion follows from the symbolic significance of the house and its essentially feminine character. It consists in the association of heat with death and of cold with life. It may suffice here to refer to the end of Chapter I of Part II (pp.311 and 313). Woman and death is not an original association,² but it provides the necessary link which justifies the inversion of the values of heat and cold. The hearth and its fire, cooking and laying out of the dead are situated in the women's quarters, while in the men's diffuse realm of outside no such things happen; away from the house, mostly in the garden, food is either consumed raw or only roasted.

¹
At the positions marked [1] in the plans of the house pp.232 and 250.

²
In his Memoirs of Herr von Schnabelewopski, Heinrich Heine writes humorously: 'The moral of the play is that women should never ~~never~~ marry a Flying Dutchman while we men may learn from it that one can, through women, go down and perish - under favourable circumstances!' [1961:233].

Consequently, death occurring outside the house, falling from a tree or from a horse, is considered so abnormal that corpses are hurriedly buried near the place where death struck and not brought back into the house to be mourned. They are, if one may say so, social deaths.

That manhood is good because it represents coolness and rawness and womanhood bad because it represents heat, maturity and death, finds further illustration in the habit, when one is frightened, of wetting with the tongue the tip of one or more fingers (according to the intensity of fear) and applying the saliva to the sternum, the seat of emotions (Tetun, hirus). Fear, it is thought, has the bad and dangerous effect of increasing heat in the hirus and that this is neutralized by the good cooling effect of the saliva applied to it. Fear is, thus, well established in this intimate gesture, as a fear of women through the heat element in the chain of associations already found with darkness, sex and death in the women's quarters, and in the attribution of obscurity and sacredness (lulik) to the feminine power of the diarchy.

Section III: Avoidance of Women

Fear of sex and an almost total absence of sexual licence ^{are} ~~is~~ an outstanding feature of the society of south Belu and, in this, the southerners contrast very much with the hill dwellers who are, on the contrary, very casual about matters of sex. This aspect of their life dissociates them from the picture of matriarchal society as imagined from the ancient sources of Bachofen and from some of the classic examples used in turn by upholders and opponents of the matriarchal theory, e.g. mostly the Trobrianders and, to some extent, the Nayar.

Avoidance of matters concerned with sex and avoidance of women, particularly when they are, as in the present case, carried to such extremes, have to be attributed to the fear that women inspire.

The segregation of the sexes has been seen to occur very early in the life of the boys. It is physically maintained thereafter by the distribution of the house's occupants. The segregation, then, is the immediate effect of the partitioning of the living space. Adolescents, however, are not completely debarred from ^{coming into contact with} ~~frequenting~~ each other. There are many formal occasions when they are allowed to meet and play. ^{this is} ~~especially~~ ^{so} among the inhabitants of Wehali villages who, in comparison, with those of Suai and related villages, come much later to participate in household and garden work, at an average age of 18 to 20 for adolescents of Wehali as against 14 to 16 among the new comers. It is

mostly in the pre-working period of their lives that a boy and a girl may meet at night for sessions of hanimak or hamimak, meaning to frequent. These take place exclusively in the house of the girl, who stays inside the chamber and does not even appear at the door. The boy stands under the eaves or sits on the platform. He may initiate his courting session by playing the jew's harp or a bamboo recorder. Sometimes his musical improvisations are made on a locally made violin. He then proceeds to recite epic poems, ~~at~~ ^{After} ~~which to~~ the first distich of quatrains, the girl has to reply with the matching distich. She is usually prompted in this by a member of an older generation of women who may be dozing in the chamber. An extreme formalisation is observed in these sessions. ~~when~~ ^{Set} rhymed formulae are used in all communication between the courting pair; for instance, in asking for a fan, for water, betel, tobacco. Sex consciousness is apparent in the formula used by the visiting boy when, tired by several hours of lyric contest, he wants to sleep on the platform. He says: 'Ita halolok hadak leuk lai', lit. we straighten floor laths first, i.e. let us (by the weight of our bodies) straighten the floor laths (which are loosely tied to the structural beams), for fear that, by using the plain word toba, to sleep, his intentions might be misinterpreted.

Another occasion when boys and girls meet has been mentioned in relation to the preparation of sago, on p.175 of the chapter on economy. In the past, market-parties were held. A group of youths dressed

and fitted with silver head-gear, bracelets, anklets and breast-plates went on their adorned horses to a village where go-betweens had arranged a corresponding group of girls, also dressed up and adorned, to meet them. They, Then, rode together to a sometimes distant market-place, each boy with a girl riding pillion. The point of the exercise was for the group of boys to turn up and make a good impression on the group of girls, on their own people and on the people who had come to the market. By such a display, the boys gained, mostly in their own village, fame, a 'name'. The relations between the boys and girls would be prolonged by exchanges of small gifts such as embroidered handkerchiefs, specially woven belts, silver tobacco-boxes, rings, etc. Several circumstances, due to the war and its consequences, have virtually put an end to such meetings which are replaced by more regular and intense singing and dancing, for the new comers, and hanimak, for the Wehali people, on Saturday nights. The administration has expressed concern at the waste of time in which these meetings resulted and authorized them only at weekends.

There are, however, several other occasions when adolescents may meet. For instance, it is beyond the power of the administration to prevent the threshing of rice, maize (beaten with truncheons) and mongo beans from lasting days and nights as the work is done with the accompaniment of songs, the words of which are epic poems and quatrains of the same stock as those mentioned above. Full moon nights have also

a great appeal for both old and young people and boy and girls very often take this opportunity to form a circle to sing and dance. ~~Then,~~ ^{Watching} the dead is ^{another} a favourable occasion for adolescents to meet.

Although nowadays no watching takes as long as that of the previous Nai Bot (from 1926 to 1936), the total time spent in vigils for one death very often exceeds a week (four to five nights from death to interment plus three nights to help the mourning family to wait for the house to 'cool down').

On such occasions as the two above, boys and girls do not really mix, however. Dancing, they stand in two half-circles or, in the mourning house, they sit in two groups facing each other and competing in vocal skill and literary knowledge. Watching the dead, interrupted by laments, the boys and girls occupy themselves with games, such as drawing cuts, knuckle-bones, cat-cradles and board-game.¹

In all these games, exclusively played while watching the dead, the losers forfeit small valuables, rings, bracelets, tobacco or betel-boxes, handkerchiefs or turbans. This offers favourable opportunities for the boys and girls to exchange small gifts and to arrange to meet later if they attach some importance to the acquaintance and to

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This board-game, la'o dalok, to move the dalok seeds, is of 'mancala' type, ~~but~~ ^{or} more exactly: the Ceylon board as described by Murray [1952:170-5] under nos. 7.3.1 and 7.4.11 of his nomenclature.

the forfeited objects. Relations are thus initiated which may result in regular courting on any of these different occasions.

Attachments can also be initiated on informal occasions. But such occasions are rare, since nubile girls are practically never seen outside their villages without a chaperon. Nor are girls likely to be seen informally in a market-place, the well-known field of action for 'hill girls', lest they lose their 'name'. Then, apart from meeting at school and at church, a few further informal occasions are well recognized as predictable opportunities initiating an attachment, such as when a boy falls in love with his friend's sister.

Whether made formally or informally, however, the common issue expected of such relationships is that they should be deliberately discontinued when the time for marriage arrives and when the boy asks for a wife to be sought for him through the channel of his parents, a go-between and a suitable girl's parents. It is considered as highly ill-omened and, even, indecent to give way to anything that comes near to physical attraction, lust or love. Marriage, the moral standards dictate, is not meant to satisfy such drives. The honourable procedure for both groups is to arrange a marriage between a man and a woman who have not courted each other, which is usual the case between groups who have 'old tanasak', as courting preferably takes place between individuals who belong to non-intermarrying groups.

The common factor underlying the reluctance to yield to amorous motives and to start, as a consequence, entirely new marriage arrangements between groups as yet strangers in this respect, is the suspicion of lycanthropy. If a woman has such an influence on a man that he has to marry her, it is likely to be because of her occult, evil power. As these powers are believed to be hereditary (in the maternal line), it is the main, though unavowed, reason why negotiations towards establishing a 'new tanasak' relationship are so long and delicate. Both parties inquire into each other's family histories and investigate ~~to~~ the faintest indication of abnormal behaviour in their respective members. Things are not made easier by the necessity of keeping the object of these investigations secret since an accusation of lycanthropy, or, even, an open suspicion, would have extremely serious consequences, the least of which would be that the accusation would be returned. It is only in the last couple of decades, I estimate, that this accusation has lost some of its terror, but I have met several cases of marriage negotiations made very difficult by opposition from the elders of both groups on such grounds. There is one case on record of an intelligent, well-educated and industrious man of 35 whose engagements have successively been broken off because of a story that his mother's mother's sister had once been accused of lycanthropy.

Without diminishing the value of the rationalization of lycanthropy, the interpretation

of this remarkable abhorrence of falling in love or marrying a woman for whom one feels a strong sexual attraction may be seen to stem from the phenomenon of imprinting. This has not been proved to exist in humans and actually Lorenz has shown it to exist only in a small number of species of birds, particularly the nidifuge species. ^But Lorenz has not hesitated, to be followed in this by some who have commented on his experiments, ¹ to draw the conclusion that it might be a factor well worth considering in the understanding of this sort of behaviour in humans. I offer the interpretation here as an hypothesis, pending its experimental verification in higher animals and man. ~~Given the~~ ^A strong attachment existing ^S in this society between mother and ~~child and the severity of the separation of the boy~~ ^{son who experiences a severe} from the group of 'mothers', ~~which~~ ^{This} occurs in early childhood and ~~which is bound,~~ under the rule of uxori-locality, ^{is bound} to occur again at marriage, it does ~~not seem unlikely that a man would be attracted by~~ ^{Therefore a man is likely to} the physical appearance of a girl recalling his actual mother or that of an ideal mother and ^{to} be willing to restore with her an intimacy comparable to that which he enjoyed in early life with her, ~~only, then,~~ to realize that it would result in a situation strongly tinged with incest. This does not account for the incest prohibition itself but clarifies, I suggest, the paradox which is contained in developing a

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Ruyer, 1956:31-52; Hess, 1958:no.416.

love-bond through courting and falling in love and discontinuing this process near its natural completion.

There is further indication that this interpretation is worth considering.

Although young women, especially those yet unmarried, show shyness towards men, for instance, when singing and dancing, keeping their eyes down and never looking at the men facing them across the circle (in contrast to the hill women who address boldly inviting looks at their partners), it is in the men of the plain that the most significant avoidance is manifested.

Even in the generalized form wedding-ceremonies have taken throughout the plain under the name festa kawin (Malay kawin, marriage), it is still noticeable that the bride-groom is considered only as one of the guests. This uniformity of marriage ceremonies is a recent development due to Christian influence. It consists mostly of two to three days of agitation round a flimsy canopy of leaves built in front of the bride's house where the elders and notable guests are served impressive meals and large quantities of palm-brandy. Towards evening and at night young girls dance to the music of small groups of violins and guitars while the elders talk endlessly. Marriages at present take place mostly on Sundays, whether they are confirmed in Church or not, and preferably during the early months of the dry season. In June 1964, 20 wedding processions came to the Church of Betun from neighbouring villages, as against 3 to 5 in the

other dry months. This was due to favourable sidereal conjunctions as generously revealed to the indigenous masses by popular Chinese almanacs. The necessity of the couple to appear together at Church results in their appearing at the bridal house together under the canopy where they are to receive congratulations from the guests and hear the rhymed recommendations from the elders and the makoan who attend. They stay there, stiff in their best clothes of either traditional or European inspiration, until the last guest has left. The last guest does not leave before he has been fed as copiously as the first to be served, which can mean another 48 hours. Thereafter the bride's people clear the canopy of borrowed tables and chairs and dismantle the construction. The habitual occupants of the house then leave it for the couple to enjoy their wedding night in privacy.

In contrast to this, the festivity was, until a recent past, a celebration of the last stage of the preparation of a woman for marriage. This consisted, primarily, of the filing down of her teeth and it is conceivable that her condition was not ideal for cohabitation for some time after. But even among the Suai immigrants, where filing of teeth was done only later in married life for some undetermined reason, there was a lag between the end of the wedding-feast and the arrival of the husband. It is said that he came alone and almost furtively to take up quarters in his wife's house only on the following night. But this brief description does not do justice to the complexity of the arrangement, for,

particularly in the traditional Wehali setting and to some extent in its modern form, marriage proceeds in successive stages of various importance and significance, not the least of which, tara horak, lit. to hang up the sign, corresponds to formal engagement and is the indispensable condition for the man's house to obtain a mata musan when he eventually dies. The point to emphasize here is that the man is made to shy away, for one or other of these reasons, from the celebration of the wedding and from the first intimate meeting with his lawful wife. This is an extreme instance of husband-wife avoidance, which is best seen in my view as an effect of the general conception about the relationships of the sexes which, to that end, are so strictly segregated. Conditioning towards this effect begins in early childhood and is continued throughout the life of the couple.

The first years of marriage are marked by intense avoidance that only abates with the birth of the first child which allows, at last, the couple to address each other quasi-directly.¹ The restriction is made necessary by the usage of teknonyms. In the plain, they are formed only on the name of the first child to be born and to live long enough to be named; ~~whether~~ ^{of whether} ~~it~~ ^{it} is a boy or a girl or whether, ultimately, it lives or not. A couple can, thereafter, address each other and refer to each other in the presence of all classes and categories of third persons, as 'father of -'

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Pseudo-teknonyms mentioned on pp.360-4 are only applied by way of joking to a young childless couple. They become derisive when applied to a definitely sterile couple.

and 'mother of -' (by suffixation of -ama and -ina, the standard words for father and mother, to the child's 'personal' name). This appellation is unchangeable and is used until they actually become grandparents (bei) or reach the age of those who have passed the reproductive age and, as a result, would be generally assumed to have lost interest in sex. They are, then, addressed as ama bei and ina bei, to which title their 'personal' names become increasingly attached, for instance, Ama Bei Bere, Ina Bei Rika. Beyond a certain age, it is no longer felt necessary to include the teknonym, as in Bei Abuk Ina Rika. As for the old couple themselves, the teknonym tends also to disappear in addressing each other, which they do by using the affectionate terms Ama bei uan, Ina bei uan, little old man, little old woman (uan, child; bei uan, grand child; bei alone designates both grandparents and grandchildren of both sexes, context alone permitting the distinction to be made). Although old age results in a greater intimacy, communicativeness and understanding between the couple, there is no alteration whatsoever to the pattern of house-occupancy described in Sections II and III Chapter I above, and the same general rules of avoidance continue to apply.

But they are never nearly as oppressive as between the newly married couple who cannot and may not address each other directly at all, whether in public or in private. For one thing, they actually avoid being left alone for fear of gossip, of being taxed with lustfulness which is only one step short

of being accused of lycanthropy, an accusation which almost regularly in such cases falls upon the woman. The fear of being left together is such that the couple would not sit together on the same level of the platform; indeed, further, the woman would not sit even on the upper platform if her mother or her mother's sister or elder sister were not already there.

The habitual sitting-place of a 'new man', a young husband, is, in the initial period of his marriage, the first steps under the eaves; thus he avoids wife, wife's mother, wife's sisters and all women of the house at the same time. Fatherhood and seniority alone will allow him to sit back against the door-side of the wall in the affine's place. The only way for a husband to communicate with his wife, at this stage, is through the mediation of his wife's brothers (whom he addresses as ria, WB), his wife's father (ama,¹ F, but whom he addressed as tua, before marriage, if he is real MB, or as ama, if he is FZH), his wife's sister (bin, eZ, or alin, yZ, according to her relative age to his wife's), his wife's mother (ina,¹ M, but whom he addressed as fetok, before marriage if she is FZ, or baba if she is MBW) or, finally, he may communicate with his wife through any of the bei, grandparent category, or

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As announced on p.320 the word banin follows, or is understood to follow, the words ama and ina when referring to in-laws. Banin used alone refers to all members of ego's affinal matrilineage.

through any third person who may be present at the time. The young husband must ask one of the intermediaries who may be available, in the order of preference listed above, in this way, for instance: 'Ria would you tell your sister to give me this?', even though the wife may be present. The object of the demand or, if such is the case, the answer to a question, come back from the wife to the husband through the same intermediary: 'Maun (eB) or Alin (yB according to their relative age) would you give this to your ria (ZH)?'

While a man can, without arousing any suspicion or comment of any kind, ride with his sister or any girl ^{Seated behind him} ~~(sitting)~~, he can absolutely not ride with his wife or his betrothed on the horse behind him, for such reasons given on p.423 above. In fact, the list of what a married couple cannot do throughout life is extensive, so I list only a few examples of avoidance behaviour that may be said to obtain, mostly in the critical first years of marriage.

The couple cannot walk or sit side by side, hold hands, talk directly to each other or pass objects directly to each other; for instance, betel and areca containers which, while sitting on the platform, have to be put down, not thrown, in front of the other, if the couple have passed the age when intermediaries are necessary. The couple cannot carry objects or wear garments belonging to one or the other; except when a widow, for a few days to a few weeks after burial, wears her dead husband's cloak folded on her head or shoulder. The couple cannot go to the market

alone or visit distant parents alone. The couple cannot go together to their garden; not even after an interval can one of them go there if the other has been there; whereas, in fact, the man, doing most of the garden-work alone, can go there with any person of either sex of the house, except his wife.

When going alone, the husband leaves the village during the first hours of the day. Later in the day, his wife is expected to bring cooked food to him, but she must not come unaccompanied, lest she would be thought to conceal lustful intentions. Moreover, should a man see his wife coming alone without, say, one of their children or her mother or sister, he would at once be very suspicious of her real nature. He would call his dogs and be reassured only if they wagged their tails or did not bark.¹ He would, alternatively, wait for his wife to address him and, if she did not he would try to make her laugh with some remark or gesture. Thus would the husband try to see if his wife's teeth were white and pointed; a sign which denotes buan, lycanthropes, or rai nain, land genii, who deceive men in assuming the shapes of their wives. But failing to obtain these assurances, the man would accept nothing from his wife and, in terror, would promptly take to his heels back home.

Generally, in conversation between men and women or between people of the same sex but different status

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Cf. Bui Kiak's retrieval from the tree and the retainers recommendations to Taek Rai Malaka, pp.79-80.

(a young man to an elder or a commoner to a noble), extreme care is taken not to offend by using words or gestures which would be interpreted as references to sexual matters.

Tolu, three, is replaced by kabau ida no balu or, for short, kabau in Wehali; by dean tan ita, in Suai, or for short dean tan. The first means: one horse (load, i.e. one bag each side) and a half (load) and the second, lit. talk because we, means: because we are talking (of numbers, not of anything else). Tolu, in addition to three, means egg and could be misinterpreted as testicle. It is also a universal male-symbol number, four, being in this culture too, female.¹

Senulu resin tolu, or, for short, seresin tolu, thirteen, is replaced by seresin kabau or seresin dean tan, etc.

Tomati, tomato, is indicated by toos nain, master of the garden, because the aspect of this semi-wild species of tomatoes suggests the glans penis. When the word tomati has to be used it must be accompanied by a bow to the listener and the women present and by the mumbling of the stereotyped phrase ho ita

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But hat, four, is used undisguised, except when it designates the Tetun kingdoms west of River Benenai: Wewiku, Rabasa Hain, Uma Lor (or Kaberan Rai) and Dato Makdean, as leun has, for leun hat, four settlements, would resemble leun at, which is undesirable as at, bad, is so often used for death. The masses understand leun has as 'the settlements of the mangos' which are, however, no more abundant there than elsewhere.

tahotuk ne'e (lit. with us all together here). Often, however, the Indonesianized permisi, excuse me, is enough. This must be uttered in association with the following words, an abbreviated list, which have no inoffensive substitutes.

fuan, fruit (also glans penis)

musan, seed (also glans clitoridis)

klaak or mean klaak, bright red

naruk, long

kuak, kbon, hole

nakfa'ek, split open

naknana, opening by itself as a ripe fruit, or cracking as the drying mud

kriik, upright

nakfo'it, rising up of itself, as a bent branch

kle'uk, bent

natu'u, bowed, as the tip of young bamboo shoots

naklosu, which describes the emerging of a worm or a snake from its hole, falling of an unshot dart from the blowpipe, uncasing or unsheathing of a knife or sabre

ta'u, mud

ta'u kle'an, deep mud

kri'it, sticky

ma'ar, thick

belar, broad

rahuk, body hair, which is among these Southern-Mongoloids, limited to the pubis (while rahun, feather is unoffending)

Names of sexual parts are replaced uniformly by moen, shame.¹

The underlying obsession is obvious and the inhibition experienced in employing the above words speaks for itself. There are an increasing number of individuals, however, particularly among the better educated, who refuse to utter permisi. They argue that the object of these precautions is frustrated by drawing the attention of both speaker and audience to the identical sexual innuendoes they seek to avoid. It justifies one to maintain that the southern Tetun are obsessed with sex and goes greatly to account for the apparent strength of the repressive system which is so closely correlated with the overwhelming fear of women.

Where this appears ~~to~~^{at} its most powerful is in the matter of lawful marital sexual intercourse. The initiative rests with the woman. It is in the power only of a wife to persuade the womenfolk who reside with her in the house to depart and leave her alone. I must suppose, like my informants, that there is some recognized routine whereby a woman's mother and sisters go on a visit, from time to time, to

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In another but related order of things, baba, MBW, must also be said with precautions because, one might interpret, her husband as well as ego originate from the same house, and it should not be left open to think that ego wishes to have the same sort of relations with her as his MB himself has. When ego marries baba's daughter things are made easier in this respect for then the term of address becomes ina, mother.

relatives. The frequency of intercourse is, as might be expected, very low and so the increased rate of segmentation into smaller houses mentioned earlier,¹ for use by individual couples has, in its turn, the result of increasing the birth-rate. In the smaller houses, until what age infants are supposed to be innocent witnesses of parental intercourse, I am unable to say.

The segregated place which the garden-hut (laen, which also means husband)² provides for such purposes is ruled out for reasons such as stated earlier. But anyway, men consider it would be lacking in consideration or respect for their wives to entice them into the laen. In addition, it would entail that a man take the initiative or, again a technical point, it would be all the more 'abnormal' and inconceivable in that laen huts, although they are constructed on the same basic plan as village houses, have no chamber.

Laen have a roof, a wide front platform, a back wall but no side-walls, no front partition and no floor, apart from that of the front platform, so that they have the appearance of a hangar open on

1
Pp. 331-2.

2
P. 243, footnote 1.

both sides.¹ Fire is made, by analogy with the house, at a similar position but on the ground.

There is little doubt, however, that sexual intercourse is occasionally performed in garden-huts, but its illegality is stressed in recalling the case of the father-daughter incest (pp. 392-3, footnote 1), which was committed in the man's garden-hut. Adulterous relations, like lawful ones, ~~are held~~^{take place} in the woman's house, as far as one can judge from the case recorded, where the husband had already deserted his wife for a couple of months. Another case, that of the widow who had accepted a permanent lover before the final mourning ceremony, was considered as adultery, but had most of the characteristics of normal conjugal relations.

However, should a woman take advantage of the temporary absence of her husband and other residents of the house to entertain a lover, she would be ostracised. The penalty would result in her becoming a slave of some other tribal group. All her house's property would be ransacked² by the villagers. Her children, if any, would be taken away by the husband's house. A great feeling of shame would be shared by all the matrikin of the culprit.

1

The building of a back wall is made necessary for the back of the house because it is the usual passage of lycanthropes. Without it, ordinary people would run the risk of finding themselves in the path of lycanthropes and of falling under their influence.

2

Tetun: diuk bibi diuk asu, lit. to play the goat to play the dog.

The lover seems to escape all punishment other than temporary segregation and disgrace.

^{My}~~The~~ understanding of intimate relations, within the closed circle of the household, was made particularly difficult among a people who show such concern about sex by avoiding mentioning it. It proved extremely difficult, for instance, to obtain the Tetun names for sexual parts, although the precaution was even taken to ask for the names of all parts of the body from the head downwards.

Section IV: The Men's Reactions

An amusing and revealing tale of the hiri ha'i klon type that women tell among themselves while spinning, was obtained for me by my wife. It describes the embarrassment of a recently married man who would not approach his wife. After a few months, the wife's mother, worried because her daughter was not yet pregnant, sneaked into the house at night and, while the young man was busy trying to effect an entry, the mother took the hot coconut-shell lid from a pot of boiling water and applied it, firmly, to the man's bare buttocks. The husband's penis effectively penetrated the daughter's vagina but, withdrawing at once, he fled to the bush outside the village and hid there. The young man feared that he had killed his wife and was utterly convinced that this was so when he saw his penis, at daybreak, smeared with virgin blood. He did not appear at the house for several days, fearing reprisals. But, gradually observing no unusual agitation in the village, he began to doubt that his wife was really dead. Finally, he came back one night and discovered his wife waiting for him.

The story goes on to say that the young man must have been relieved to find that there was no boiling water in the fire-place. The fun of the story is in the enterprising mother and her stratagem. The victim of the comedy is the young husband. As the story is told among women the young man's naivety would naturally be the source of their amusement. But the man's naivety is not limited to the events reported. It allows the

audience to speculate that he may not have been circumcised, thus that he was a stranger or a coward or too young to be circumcised; or the audience might suppose that, though he had been circumcised he had not tried a 'hill girl', and so he was a coward and miser into the bargain.

Thus the women chuckle while they carry on spinning. In the hesitations and the bunglings ~~on~~ of the man one can see, beyond naivety, the fear of coitus and the fear that penetration could cause injury and death. The act appears, distinctly, as an act of aggression, which men are apprehensive to perform in a society so dominated by women. Fear of women, expressed both in the dominant role of the mother and in the fearful role of the young husband, is the dominant note of the tale. That this fear is increased by the fantasy that women are superior to men through the occult powers associated with them, must be accepted at this point as plausible. Further, it might be said to appear certain when it is recalled that men are admitted into the women's chamber on only three occasions in their lives: when they are born, when they are admitted for sexual intercourse, and when they are dead.¹

1

Again this is not an association unique to this culture, cf. the epigraph to Chapter XV of Stendhal's Le Rouge et le Noir:

'Amour en latin faict amor;
Or donc provient d'amour la mort', etc.

Circumcision which is, properly, an incision of the foreskin,¹ is practised at a very late age in comparison with the Indonesian Moslems whose habits, in this respect, are well-known to the southern Tetun. It is called h.a-mane oa, to make a man of oneself, to become a man. An uncircumcised man who, having had an affair with a slave girl (daughter of a lycanthrope, executed on this ground by the Japanese), refused to marry her when she found herself pregnant, was laughed at by his age-mates who said: 'How ridiculous, fornication when uncircumcised is useless, it is much trouble for nothing'. Loyal to the strict standards of premarital (pre-circumcision) chastity, they had obviously not tried themselves or they would have thought otherwise.

A week after the operation, when the hitu at, seven bad (days), have elapsed, the small group of age-mates, who have been living in a garden-hut, fed exclusively on roasted maize and out of sight of any women, especially their talain, marriageable cousins, go to the market-place at evening, ~~where~~^{Here} they easily find 'hill girls' and, for a florin or two, have their first sexual experience - a supposedly painful experience since such a short time has been allowed for healing. It is then, only after another week has elapsed (hitu diak, seven good), that they may have their first bath in the spring of Tubaki² and come back to the village.

1

Plate IX.

2

The closest stream to the village of Bakateu where circumcision was observed.

The self-infliction of pain, as this untimely fornication may be referred to, is also apparent in the custom of hanging up the signs in the tree.¹ The signs simply consist of house-models decorated with rattles, flags and fragments of mirror. They are made the same day as the operation and hung up in the tree on poles the same night. The aim of hanging up the signs is to show the village that so many more boys are ready for marriage. Their identity is kept secret but who they are becomes well-known after a few days absence. The purpose is obvious since the signs represent houses and, mostly, they are hung in a tree beside the path to the village well, where the unmarried girls go to draw water first thing in the morning. The hanging of the signs is a painful ordeal, since the boys have to climb the tree themselves only a few hours after the operation.

That pain should be associated with coitus is often stressed by informants who maintain that circumcision has, among other of its functions, the advantage of reducing the sexual urge in men. They are confirmed in this opinion by comparing their own behaviour with the Chinese, which they find so outrageous. Circumcision is not practised among any of the Chinese communities settled in this part of Timor. They have a very high birth rate. These two facts, in the view of the southern Tetun, are causally related.

1

Plate VIII no.3.

In women, the association of sex with pain is expressed in several ways. The most obvious is childbirth. But on this occasion, as in tooth-filing and tattooing which formally prepare, in successive stages, a woman for marriage, the standard behaviour is to suppress any cry of pain. Complaints during tattooing and tooth-filing would be interpreted as the girl being no longer a virgin. At childbirth, in which my wife at times assisted, no complaint was ever heard.

A woman who volunteered to us much inside information, had produced only one son, aged 17 when we knew him. To our question as to what prevented her having more children she replied that, at the birth of her son, she had so much cried out that her kin were ashamed and forbade her to have any more children. She had to take an oath. We knew her well enough to trust her when she said she did not use any contraceptives or abortive drugs which are known to be used in the hills.

So we drew the conclusion that it was by abstention that a couple avoided having more children.

This case substantiates that the initiative, in sexual relations, is left to women and shows how effectively they control sexual behaviour, helped as they are by the lay-out of the house which segregates the sexes.

From puberty onwards, a girl is gradually tattooed. Started at the age of 11 or 12, a single line is figured within the crook of both arms. Whenever the girl's parents can afford about twenty

cents in silver coins, the girl has further lines added by the village tattooist, to the skin of her hands, forearms and shanks. The first line is doubled, by adding a line one centimetre below it, then at each session the lines are extended to encircle the elbows. Finally, while completing other patterns, the spaces between the lines are filled in to make continuous blue-black bands. In well conducted marriage preliminaries, the final net-pattern is made on the back of the girl's hands simultaneously with tara horak, the hanging up of the sign; a festivity which marks an engagement as difficult to break off as a consummated marriage. To the same extent as the festivity where both parties meet and exchange food and betel, the tattooing of the lattice on the backs of a girl's hands is the sign that a man is engaged to her. The pattern is called dai, fishing net.

~~An~~ Extreme pain was, until recently, inflicted on women, shortly before consumption of marriage, when their teeth were filed down to the gums. This custom is being rapidly abandoned and strong disapproval from the administration forces the people who continue it to file them in secrecy. In 1964, I noticed that nearly all married women above the age of 40 had filed down teeth. In the rare cases where I observed teeth not to have been filed right down in this age group, the teeth of the women had been,

nevertheless, filed even in length and soot-blackened.¹ The levelling and blackening of girls' teeth, whether later they will have them filed right down at marriage or not, continues to this day.

In tattooing and tooth-filing, the aim seems to be to offset the evil powers associated with women and to stigmatize every individual of the sex. In tattoo designs, one is struck by the aggressiveness attributed to harmless objects.² Lizards are represented with six to ten feet fitted with claws, while their tails have pincers. The tortoise has eight threatening pincers. The moons are squared and their corners are fitted with hooks and nippers. Thus, though the women's teeth are filed down to still the fear men feel towards them, their occult powers remain unforfeited, tattooed as they are with symbols in association with the earth and, ultimately, with death.³

Tattooing and tooth-filing are mutilations inflicted in view of marriage. Tooth-filing, unlike tattooing, is performed by a man in the village. The same man holds the circumcision knife and shaves

1

Contempt of the hill people is expressed by saying that their wives have sikun mutin nehan la sè, lit. elbows white teeth not painted.

2

P. 309.

3

Cf. p. 224 on the belief that earth 'eats' the dead.

the first hair on infants.¹ The man is also the village barber and extracts thorns from feet. It is an occupation one chooses by inclination.

Tooth-filing was done and, in opposition to the authorities, is still occasionally inflicted on women in order, it seems, to counter-act the threat men feel to come from women. Reference to lycanthropy was made earlier and, in this respect, teeth are the primary factor. Witches and land genii, who rise from the earth, assume the wife's shape. Thus, in filing away a wife's teeth a man feels more secure and, alternatively, feels he may immediately recognize the lycanthrope with pointed teeth in contrast to his toothless wife.

Now that the custom fades away it is difficult to elaborate, on objective evidence, the interpretation of this custom any further. But interesting rationalizations exist in regard to these mutilations, tooth-filing in women and circumcision in men. It is said that tooth-filing is esthetic while circumcision is hygenic. Young women, informants say, have round faces. With age, teeth tend to become longer and the face, too, in consequence. Therefore, in order to preserve a youthful look, women must shorten their teeth so that when they grow

1

There is some local variation as to the shape of the tuft of hair which the barber leaves unshaved on the fontanel but, in one of Suai matrilineal clans at least, Mane Ikun, boys have a round, girls a square tuft.

old their faces will still be well proportioned, instead of becoming elongated.¹

The male form of premarital mutilation, circumcision, is generally rationalized as a hygienic measure. Here a distinction must be introduced between two categories of informants. The first are the literate ones who say it is cleaner to be circumcised. Being under the influence of their educators who hold themselves for this theory, it is likely that this sophisticated rationalization will gain ground. The others, the uninfluenced natives, offer a rationalization which, although very akin to the former, is more revealing. They say that smegma is poisonous in some way and harmful to the woman.² The sort of harm caused would be more

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The truth would rather seem to be that young women are thus made to look old, another artifice, it might be inferred, to help man not to recognize in the aspect of his wife his mother as she actually or ideally looked when he was her infant son. Cf. pp.424-5.

2

Progress in cancer research increasingly invites one to consider the hygienic theory of the origin of circumcision with caution. Hieger (1955:27) writes: 'There is a curious difference between the uterine cancer rate for Jewish and non-Jewish women. The former has a considerably lower incidence, which has been attributed to the Mosaic ritual of washing and abstaining from intercourse for seven days after menstruation....The problem is complicated by the fact that Jewish men are immune from cancer of the penis because they are circumcised before they are nine days old...' On the other hand, even if a connection were positively established between (1) absence, presence and age of circumcision and (2) incidence of cancer of the cervix of the uterus, it would still have to be shown how the southern Tetun came to realize it and to institute incision as a prophylactic measure, while the hill dwellers did not.

likely to be of a kind similar to that which the young man of the tale feared to have done. Moreover, the joking association of smegma with salt may be recalled in this connection.¹ The ritual of the first fruit of maize² is intended to h.a-mis, to make insipid, unsalted, the produce of the gardens, of the earth. Mer, salted, the contrary of mis, is a quality of the natural product still loaded with the sacredness which emanates from earth, and from women. Consequently, circumcision might be meant to remove a female element from the male organ and to prevent an increase by coitus of the mer element symbolically present in women.

It has certainly some significance that institutionalized tattooing,³ tooth-filing of women and incision of the foreskin in men is a privilege of the plain dwellers as opposed to the hill dwellers,⁴

1
P.347, footnote 1.

2
P.108, footnote 1.

3
Hill women wear tattoos as well but these are erratic and their designs do not differ significantly from their menfolk's. In both sexes, traditional designs are replaced increasingly by initials and dates.

4
True circumcision is said to have existed in the past in the hills, in Lasiolat at least where I obtained the information. It had not a great character of compulsion and was individually self-operated. The circumcised youth ostracised himself from his community and wandered about far from villages begging his food from travellers. He ran the risk of falling the victim of head-hunters or slave drivers (being in the
(continued on next page)

although I am not able at this stage of my study of southern Tetun society to show in what way. But an interpretation of these differences in custom will have to be framed within the context of the land of men / land of women opposition, particularly in the light of the following fact.

However inverted the symbolic dualistic classification may be in most of its aspects in the south plain where square is female, heat is death, women rank higher than men, etc., there are not, either in Wehali, Suai or among other comparable immigrants, or, so far as I know, in the kingdoms settled west of River Benenai, more than a few suspect cases of homosexuality and none of transvestism, either male or female. In contrast, there are numerous cases of this in all the hill kingdoms where some men are seen dressed exactly like women, behaving like women in walking, sitting and talking. They pound rice, draw water, spin and weave and mix with women in most of their activities. Although some, together with the missionaries, tend to think that their peculiarity is a ruse to deceive women and take advantage of them, I have not heard of any complaint on this ground. Female homosexuality, also, exists there, but it is much rarer.

4(continued)

vicinity of the port of Atapupu, famous for its trade in slaves, Tetun ata, slave). The impression, therefore, is that circumcision was a test of courage, a preparation to becoming a warrior. My informant, Nai Lasiolat, denied that it was still practised and, not familiar enough with his region, I could not check more closely.

The case of the transvestite in the plain, whose function is to receive the kakaluk war-medicines, in this context, has a very different significance.

There are two suspected cases of male homosexuality in the plain, one is in Suai, the other in Tabene. None of them is a transvestite, which is a sign that, while sexual inversion actually exists, it has no existence as an institution. In feminine activities, the one in Suai only goes as far as drawing patterns for his mother to weave. The behaviour of the one in Tabene is marked by his preference for the company of young boys. Both have in common that they are unmarried and over 35 years of age: but they are only sons and, as a result of circumstances in earlier generations, their houses have not received any mata musan girl. The care of their mothers and of the ritual functions attached to their houses forces them to celibacy. It is expected that on their mother's death and on their own, the elders will have to choose by divination a girl from their matrilineage to take up the ritual function and settle in the house which has been left empty.

The presence of transvestite homosexuals - who are not necessarily perverts - in the patrilineal hill kingdoms and their absence in the matrilineal plain - where there may be a few perverts - could be interpreted as a result of the differential sexual dominance in the couple and in the sub-culture considered. If it is true that the attraction a homosexual feels for the other sex is an inverted one,

in that what attracts him in the other sex is a need to identify himself with its status as well as dissociate himself from that of his own, one can infer that, in a male-dominated community, the male homosexual can, through his inversion, become dominated by men as are the women whereas, in a female-dominated community, there is no point in a man associating with women who, in the logic of the system, dominate them anyway. Alternatively, there is no point, in the plain, for a woman to seek a male identification, for then she would only gain a subordinate status which, whatever the system of values in the community, she has physically anyway, even if it is true that she does not accept the ~~lower~~ ^{lower} ~~underlying~~ position in sexual intercourse.¹

The dominance of women in the examination of the intimate, but essentially social, relations of the couple and of the sexes in general seems consequently to be well established and to be institutionalized enough to pervade all aspects of life in the south of Belu Regency.

Mention must be made of yet another very important reaction of the men against their women-dominated system. It is a manifestation which I have little hesitation in calling 'cargo cult'. However, the

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The truth of my informants' statement would have to be checked - but the impossibilities are obvious - by dissociating what is said, thought or fancied to be done, from what is actually done.

cargo element in this case seems a late appendage¹ to a recurrent phenomenon in the south plain of Belu.

A notorious makoan² of Aihun in Lakekun where the revivalistic movement took place in 1955-56, recalled eight major similar outbursts in the past 90 years or so. The subject is vast, the literature is abundant, and a full treatment of the question has necessarily to be postponed, but the common features of the successive outbursts can be outlined. They consist of a belief suddenly spreading over the plain that to a man has been revealed, either in dreams or in trances, a means to communicate with the spirits of the dead and to recall them to the assistance and welfare of the living. H.a-sae mate bian, lit. to cause to come up the dead spirits, is one of their generic names.

On certain conditions, the followers of the movements are promised that powers and riches will be brought to them from the sea, generally, where the dead are believed to reside, on an island under the sway of Lakuleik Nain, the Tetun Hades.

Only in the last decade, ~~Half~~ a dozen movements have begun. One of them, that of 1955, became so dangerous as to cause the government to send a police force to stamp it out. Later some movements involved

1

Except if Wehali's waiting for the return of her male lords mentioned on p.303 has to be taken into account.

2

Bei Makoan Nahak, plate VII, no.1.

only small groups, for instance, when a protestant evangelist promised to a village the goods of 26 cargo ships to be delivered in exchange for their mass abjuration of Catholicism. One was initiated unwittingly by the government itself but it did not develop: it was in a year when the population was required to defend itself against possible enemies from abroad. Sentry boxes had to be built on all the roads and major paths and, mostly, along the coast. Civil defence units kept a constant watch and had to report all land movements, and all airplanes and ships.

Now with the exception of these two examples which failed, the common feature of the conditions for joining a movement and towards obtaining promised goods is to indulge in sexual licence. In the 1955 case, a makoan and a group of elders, soon augmented by politically-minded younger men, enticed women and young girls onto a beach at night to meet the spirits. The women met the alleged spirits in a hut where they were subjected to abuse. A few years later, a short-lived movement was initiated by two young women from Manlea who imported their mode of operation into the plain. It was necessary, according to their revelations, to ~~let~~ roll down a slope in ^{pairs} ~~couples~~ in order to attain ecstasy, the clothes soon becoming loose and then being lost ^{on the way} ~~in the trajectory~~, so that, by the time they reached the bottom, the novices were in a suitable state to be abused.

A small number of cases are now and then reported to the ketjamatan office, investigated and usually shelved for want of firm complaints or adequate information where, as is the usual practice, groups of girls are lured by groups of youths to be abused in such circumstances.

Inquiries into the details of such incidents are made very delicate, firstly because the people avoid giving information about a phenomenon which they seem reluctant to admit is a manifestation of an excessively repressed sexuality. Secondly, the great outburst of 1955 had political implications and took the form of a struggle between progressive and traditionalist parties. The progressive party identified with the cultists and, if they were defeated in the 1956 elections, they were, at the time of my inquiries, increasingly confident that their political trend was gaining ground and recognition elsewhere in the country.

The reactions of the hill dwellers to these movements are interesting in that they do not get involved in such movements. There is no propagation even in the neighbouring hill kingdoms. They remain aloof, most likely because indulgence in sexual licence is not to them a sufficient attraction. The Regency administration - composed almost exclusively of hill dwellers - reacts violently to these crises, which is the more normal since they are threats to order, but the administration reaction in fact reveals how strong is the disapproval expressed in

the hill regions against these movements and their leaders. This disapproval is not based, exclusively, on moral grounds. More likely their disapproval is based on the fear that the dominance of women, on which rests the whole political and religious dominance of Wehali, might be toppled by such events and that whatever balance has survived to date in the Great Timor Empire would topple with it.

APPENDIX D

LIA UMA WEN

Litany for the inauguration of a house

The orator begins with addressing ~~himself in~~ stereotyped rhythmic formulae on behalf of the house^lord to the fathers and forefathers of the house and explains to them that due to recurrent disease, crop failures and similar mishaps, the house^lord had sought their ^{support} ~~causes~~ through divination (this was probably the case and divination actually performed). It was revealed that as a result of the dilapidated condition of the house (probably true also), its spirits no longer finding in it proper protection against rain, dew and the wind had left and given up tutelage of the house, its people and their property. Consequently the house^lord and his helpers are described as having searched all the plain and the surrounding mountains to fetch adequate building material of three main kinds, pillars and posts, joists and leaves. In the litany dozens of places are named along the itinerary of an imaginary search for this building material following a circular route running in an anti-clockwise direction (the house has been built as usual, and no such particular effort has really been made to find the material but it is said to honour the spirits). The orator then relates the search for food and the painstaking rearing of

cattle and pigs (it would be unpleasant to the spirits to hear that some of the cattle have been purchased) for the final preparation of the house and the present (very real) feast. He continues:

Fathers and forefathers^{1*}

With the baskets presented by the house¹lords,
and the earth-pots of the deceased ones²

Who have left to us to carry on the³birth
rituals and the marriage rituals

We address to you who have gathered and who
are grouped already

On the fork of the main pillars, on the
groove of the posts

On the front garret, on the front shelf

You who are sitting there and settling there

To look down and to cast your eyes

On the food presented to the nobles and that
presented to God

On the possessions and the ornaments of the
nobles

Who are gathered and grouped already

In the house of the fathers, in the house of
the forefathers

In the lor corner, in the lor nook

Fathers and forefathers

With the baskets presented by the house¹lords
and the earth-pots of the deceased ones

Who have left to us to carry on the birth
rituals and the marriage rituals

Come down and descend

*

Numbers in this translation refer to notes which follow the original Tetun text below.

Extend your hand a little, put your hand a
 little (on the food which is prepared
 here to take possession of it)

It has been well displayed and beautifully
 displayed

With seven leaves of betel and seven slices
 of areca nuts

And black yarn and the top of the water⁴

Fathers and forefathers

With the baskets presented by the house^lords
 and the earth-pots of the deceased ones

Who have left to us to carry on the birth
 rituals and the marriage rituals

O u o! Pull yourself up and draw yourself up⁵

Till the deep dark sky and the limit of the
 vision⁶

Take care of the young and the old ones

Of the women and of the men

Who have gathered together who have grouped
 in rows

In the house of the fathers, in the house of
 the forefathers

Give them the rawness and the coolness⁷

Give to all who have gathered and grouped here

Robust shoulders and strong heads

(as a reward for) The seven leaves of betel
 and the seven slices of areca nut

For the black yarn and for the top of the water

And make the lap of the young and the old

Of the women and the men

Like the succession of the rungs of the ladder,
 and the continuity of the buds which burst
 one after the other.⁸

Roi rabesi duuk awa e
they are being they make strong own self

roi ramonas duuk awa
they are being they make strong own self

Rodi raninu mai e rodi
they bring they look down come they bring

ranae mai
they look down come

Lamak nain sia e lamak maromak
banana leaf noble they banana leaf the 'Luminous'

sia
they

Knok nain sia e futar nain sia
belonging noble they ornaments noble they

Ratete tian awa e ranesan
they put on a line already self they put on a row

tian awa
already self

Iha ama uma laran e bei uma laran
at father house inside GF/GM house inside

Iha lidun lor e iha leun lor
at corner " at angle "

Bere aman sia e bere bein sia
? F they ? GF/GM they

Ro tanasak uma isin nain
they have hexagonal basket house contents master

riik uma ulun nain
earth-pot house head master

Lia futu husar e lia tula ulun
ceremony to tie umbilic ceremony to load head

Hatun awa mai e haraik awa mai
to come down self come to put down self come

Tonan uit lima ba e rai
to take possession a little hand go to put down
of offered food

uit lima ban
a little hand go

Hodi rai hela diak hodi
to bring to put down to leave good to bring

rai hela kmanek
to put down to leave fine

Ba takan tahan hitu e ba bua klaut hitu
go betel leaf 7 go areca slice 7

Iha metan ai e we fohon ai
at black (expletive) water top (expletive)

Bere aman sia bere bein sia
? F they ? GF/GM they

Ro tanasak uma isin nain
they have hexagonal basket house contents master

riik uma ulun nain
earth-pot house head master

Lia futu husar e lia tula ulun
ceremony to tie umbilic ceremony to load head

O u o! dada sae tian awa e
(exclamation) to pull to go up already self

biri sae tian awa⁵
to draw to go up already self

Keto'o metan⁶ ban e keto'o lalo'et / lawat ban
until black go until haze - go

Ba halo oan sia e halo bein sia
go to make child they to make GF/GM they

Sia feto duuk e sia mane duuk
they woman own they man own

Roi ktetuktetuk e roi
they are being on a par they are being

nesanesan
on a row

Iha ama uma laran e bei uma laran
at F house inside GF/GM house inside

Rola matak ai e rola malirin⁷
they take raw (expletive) they take cold

ai
(expletive)

rendered in the order: 'masters of the pots of the heads of the house, or of those of the house who are at the head, at the beginnings'.

3. That the expression 'to tie the umbilical cord' refers to birth rituals is obvious, but 'to load the head' as referring to marriage needs an explanation. It was given as the peculiar hair arrangement which women have made on marriage ceremonies whereby their long hair is coiled on the top of the head. In everyday life a bun is worn on the side of the head, not behind on the nape of the neck as men and hill women have. It also refers to the heavy headgear of silver diadems and bands which are fixed in their buns.
4. Black yarn and the best of the water, drawn before dawn, typify the contributions of the women to the offerings, which actually consist of these items.
5. The words dada awa and sae awa are chosen to illustrate the way the spirits are believed to ascend, not with a ladder or any other means used by the living, but by their own power, by an immaterial rising or ascension.
6. By metan, black, is not meant the night, when one cannot see, but the extreme distance, what is beyond the limit of vision, which is assumed to be black. Darkness and haze (lawat or lalo'et) have this in common that they prevent clear vision. It can be repeated here that the sky is believed to consist of a round mat which

envelopes the earth and its atmosphere. Darkness is beyond the clear surface of the sky.

7. Matak malirin, rawness and coolness, is the state of things which all rituals are devised to re-establish in the society and in the individual. An increase of ripeness and heat is the cause of disease, death and other disasters. The first category corresponds to the realm of men and the second to that of women.
8. This verse is extremely condensed and the translation has been kept as close to it as possible, but the meaning nevertheless is clear. The wish expressed in the call is that a numerous progeny should come forth from the laps of those present. Riti is only found here with this sense of lap; it has otherwise that of copper, its alloys and the objects (bracelets, finger-rings, etc.) made of it. Both senses are apparently unrelated.

APPENDIX E

ON THE QUESTION OF FETO SAWA

Vroklage [1952-3, I:248-9] tends to accept the meaning of 'S^hamgurtel', shame belt, given to him for sawa, thus probably 'loin-cloth' or even 'perineal band'. But the former is only worn by men (women wear a full length sheath) and the latter is not worn in Belu, although some of the men who have travelled in Portuguese Timor know it to exist among some local tribes which are difficult to identify accurately from their accounts. The idea behind Vroklage's explanation is that feto sawa is the group ('Familienverband') which includes women whose loin-cloth Ego is not allowed to touch or to remove. Thus it is coterminous with one's inan feton in Wehali terminology. Though known, feto sawa is not used much in the south plain as it is mostly a term used in opposition to uma mane, men's house, in the marriage system which is characteristic of the hill country. There, men are the house^hlords and by means of bride-wealth, they draw their wives to their own houses, so that the houses linked to any one house fall into either of these two categories: feto sawa, the wife-takers, or uma mane, the wife-givers. Women of the wife-giving group, uma mane, are eligible wives (in the past they were prescribed partners); while women of the feto sawa, wife-taking group (including one's sisters and daughters who are intended for the

wife-takers) are strictly prohibited. They all are Ego's sisters and daughters. Now the term feto sawa must be understood as feto.n, sister, sawa, first, elder. A feto sawa is not necessarily a lineage to which all women from Ego's patrilineage (D, Z, FZ, FFZ, etc.) have been sold as wives but often where only one, the 'first' has been taken, thus opening the way for subsequent alliances between individuals of the two groups. Such alliances may or may not ensue, yet the wife-takers are feto sawa for ever, they are 'those of the first sister'. Sawa alone is not much used in this sense except by noble families where it is sometimes found that the elder daughter is addressed as nai sawa, the second nai kau, the third nai fetok. Other terms follow but not in a regular order.

In the south plain, the term feto sawa has not the same importance as among the hill kingdoms where it is indispensable to regulate the dealings between houses in the transfers of women and wealth from one lineage to the next, principally on the occasions of marriages, though also at all occasions which bring several lineages together (funerals, harvest festivals, etc.). Nevertheless, the south plain people put a great emphasis on the distinction between women who are prohibited partners and marriageable women. The former are then sometimes called feto sawa, and the latter include the talain, bilateral cross cousins. Feto sawa is thus coextensive with inan feton and with uma in its

wider sense, but for the southern Tetun of Wehali and Suai, the term feto sawa is more specifically employed in the sense of 'Ego's own sisters' even though it is extended to all the possible matrilineal feminine parallel cousins of an uma-lineage. The etymology proposed by some informants for sawa may appear as dubious as that suggested by some of the northerners. They maintain that sawa would be identical to sawa.n, morrow, as found in the compositions sei-sawa.n, early morning, awan-sei-sawa.n, early to-morrow, sawa.n-sawa.n, everyday; that feto sawa would consequently apply to those who are Ego's sisters from morning (to evening) or, everyday (without exception), to distinguish them from those who are simply addressed as 'sisters' because they roughly belong to Ego's age-group.

Nevertheless, the meaning of the first element of the expression is explicitly common to both hill and south plain peoples: feto = feto.n, sister and not simply feto, woman.

In a myth, referring to the early generations of Wehali's overlords, a case of sibling incest is recorded. Kama Tuan Wehali asks his younger brother, Dini Liurai, who it was has given him the ring he wears on his finger. Dini Liurai gives several explanations which are obviously spontaneous inventions. Kama Tuan then says: 'I know whose it is, it is Bano Ekin's, it is our feto sawa's, and he chops his brother's hand off. Ashamed, Dini Liurai runs away to the mountains and stops at the village of Kateri (kateri's overt meaning is scissors,

but its covert meaning is a derivation from .teri, to hold back) where he is cured with hot water in a krakit (cf. above pp.266-7, footnote 1). Dini Liur'ai continues his flight and performs deeds at various places among the hills before settling in Insana where he dies. Makoan historians explain that it was not Dini's hand that was amputated but that he was castrated. They do not maintain, however, that castration is a typical punishment for sibling incest. Until recently, the culprits were killed and 'thrown away', not buried and mourned, or banished to be killed or taken into slavery by neighbouring tribes, slavery being a 'civil death'.

CONCLUSION

If it is true that societies are composed of families or rather of heads of families who are holders of authority, it is in the family that the seat of this authority or potestas has to be found and defined in a first stage. It is finding the seat of political authority in a first stage that has been the problem of the successive administrations in middle Timor, and it has been shown why no satisfactory solution has ever been achieved.

The political system is diarchic. There is one feminine, passive power and one masculine, active power. The superiority of the former makes it incompatible with any other foreign political system, whether monarchic or democratic. Actually, natives of south Belu found themselves little at variance under the Dutch monarchic rule as they were sensitive to the approximate homophony of the names Wilhelmina and Wehali. Obviously, also the fact that Dutch colonial officials acted in the name of a woman was congruent to their ideology.

X
The political system which, as has been indicated, regulated the Great Timor Empire, at least ideally, was built on a model offered by the matrifocal families of the creation myths. The political centre, Wehali, is like a mother, the vassals like her sons. They hold their powers and their regalia from the mother-state who deprives herself ^{of} ~~from~~ these powers

and regalia for their benefit. The powers, the rights and privileges of the central state which are connected, either actually or symbolically, with the male sex, with overt and manifest activities and, generally, with action, have been transferred in the course of the history of Wehali hegemony to the son-vassals.

X Wehali, the original seat of the Tetun order, gave away these masculine features to the vassals for the purpose of retaining their fealty, as if out of maternal love, as the informants describe the process. In return, Wehali kept for herself those powers, rights and privileges which, antithetically, are considered feminine. The nature of the symbolic classification which supports the political ideology is dualistic. It divides the Timorese world into male and female elements. Its originality is that, by means of some striking inversions (in comparison with the Pythagorean dualism, for instance), the female element is the dominant one. For the sake of its application over the Great Timor Empire, Wehali itself, as a whole, behaves in a woman-like fashion. It is a rai fetu, land of women, as the south plain region is labelled in contrast to the hill region where it is the masculine element of the diarchy which governs.

Feminine behaviour, in the south plain, does not entail, as seen, transvestism, not even any particularly high rate of homosexual inversion either in men or women. What is meant and what exists is the overpowering rule of uxorilocality. This is the central feature which enables Wehali to assume its role of example for the vassals. What follows from

the uxori-local rule has been examined in the course of this dissertation and has been shown to bring about woman's dominance. It has been made apparent that it was mostly on account of foreign influence, ranging from the first contacts to the more recent administrative interferences, that the feminine dominance of Wehali has not resulted into an overall island-wide state or, if it was ever such, that was why it could not subsist. The irreconciliability between reality and ideology has been put forward as a major reason for this failure. For, if a certain degree of dominance of woman over man can, conceivably, be realized when individuals only are involved, it is much less likely to prove a workable and viable model for inter-state relations.

In the plain itself, taken in isolation, women's dominance was, on the contrary, viable, and still is, as the evidence provided shows.

The dominance of the female element of the diarchy over the male element corresponds in the plain to a dominance of woman over man in the couples wife-husband, sister-brother and mother-son. The relations of the sexes, in the social and familial life of the society presented, are a constant illustration of this and, especially, in the fact that these relations are projected into the physical plan of the house. The house, with its remarkable distribution of male and female areas conditions very effectively these relations. The nature of the dominance of woman speaks for itself when considering what is

symbolically associated with their sex: disease, death, heat, darkness, earth and the occult and evil; silence and reticence, immovability, stability and continuity, passivity and inertia; the square and the sacred, all superior and anterior to their contraries which are the attributes of man. On the basis of this alone, the subordinate status of man is evident.

The condition of men is further minimized when they are removed from one house to the other at marriage, from one where they have a say in house and lineage matters to one where they have none. This particularity of the system was very harmful to the exercise of the powers of the nobles who had to settle at marriage in places which were not necessarily within their zone of influence, until the pressure of administrative duties called for the compromise of neolocality. Without denying the importance of this slight change - it affects a few officials only, Liurai, Nai Wehali, Loro Lakekun and a dozen civil servants at Betun, a recent settlement, not a 'village' - the conclusion imposes itself that, in the plain, the authority which is left with the men is very dim and has little means of action.

One could apply almost word to word to this situation the statements of some of the polemicists involved in the feminist movement. For instance, in 1891, a Mrs E. Lynn Linton wrote in The Nineteenth Century to glorify the traditional condition of women in Victorian England and to castigate the suffragettes:

Among our most renowned women are some who say with their noble heart, 'I would rather have been the wife of a great man, or the mother of a hero, than what I am - famous in my own person'. A woman's own fame is barren. It begins and ends with herself. Reflected from her husband or her son, it has in it the glory of immortality - of continuance.... We date from our fathers, not our mothers;...

and further:

The wild women on the contrary burke their husbands altogether; and even when they are not widows act as if they were. [Goodwin, 1951:108-9]

The complaint of the men of south Belu echoes strangely in some of their distichs when they address their womenfolk in the mourning songs: 'We are like food crumbs on your clothes, you shake them and they fall through the floor'. 'Your bones are like the pillars and posts (they are buried in a single, fixed place), ours are scattered all over (buried in the various places where the men have married)'. They also sing, in this recent improvisation, 'You are like the driver of a lorry, we are like the passengers, when he goes they go, when he stops they stop'. One could not find a more striking illustration to the fact that ultimate authority rests with women.

Is this enough to allow such an emotionally loaded term as matriarchy to be retained? I would tend to preserve it with regard to this society while leaving to Bachofen's construction the term which he himself chose, gynaecocracy. Bachofen's concern was to describe from classical evidence a

state of human society, in an evolutionary frame, where women acted as rulers, as holders of political authority, as much as military power particularly in the interregnum of 'amazonism'. It is clear that this is not and has certainly never been the case ~~of~~ⁱⁿ the society considered. Both Bachofen's and the southern Tetun matriarchies stem in my view from phantasy. The first is an ideal construction, the second is an actual implementation of the same dereistic notion that woman, especially as mother, has a superior, thence enviable status.

The wider distribution, at one time of the history of the Ancient World, of matrilineal - and possibly uxorilocal - societies than at a later stage, say, the foundation of Athens, does not necessarily entail that women were ever acting heads of states, of clans and of families. Even the fact that a Venus in a temple of Attica was named Praxis, action,¹ is no evidence of that. It shows, on the contrary, that Bachofen does not merit any more blame than his sources, the Ancient Greeks, who suffered the same sort of delusion. The same again as that of the southern Tetun legislators who attempted to found their hegemony on the principle that the ultimate and undisputable power was that of the mother.

In this light, the history of matriarchy would deserve a study in itself. Its presence and its

¹
Chompré, 1801:s.v.

absence, at certain times and in certain authors, would deserve ~~an~~ equal attention.

The quest for an island of matriarchs is a long-lived preoccupation of human minds, from the Odyssey (cf. Circe, the blood-sucking witch in her Island of Dawn or Island of the Dead) through to the esoterico-esthetic cosmography of Jean Ango and his Dieppe school (Desceliers' 1550 map of the world shows an 'Isle des Reines'), these mysterious islands were also islands of gold, which made for the major incentive. This urge was reinforced in the relations of the famous travellers. Marco Polo was told of a large land south of the Eastern Archipelago and of a kingdom, Lukak, rich in gold. Three centuries later, Pigafetta also reported that there was a mountain of gold near Cabanaza.¹

When the voyages of the seventeenth century made clear that no such island of gold existed and that there was little, in the ethnographic evidence which they brought back, to support the island of women idea - in fact, the mediaeval concept of an 'antichthoné' alone found its confirmation in the discovery of the Australian continent² - it was the turn of jurists and classicists to search the reigning women in hypothetical reconstructions of

1

Our Kamanasa close to Suai. Rai Luka, Luka land, is situated at the mouth of the river Luka, about 90 km. west of the pre-1911 position of Kamanasa on the south coast of Portuguese Timor.

2

Chicoteau 1965: passim.

the stages of social evolution. In 1779, John Millar of Glasgow, a precursor of Bachofen, assumed the existence of a promiscuous stage to have necessarily preceded one where the relations of the sexes were institutionalized. Women, he said, were then visited by occasional males who retained their full mobility and assumed no responsibility towards offspring. The family was then represented by mother and child exclusively.

~~to~~ ^{This is not} the place to examine point by point the Bachovian image of social evolution which offers so many similarities with that of Millar,¹ and, further, to evaluate and assess the cogency of the positions taken by the MacLennans, the Hardtlands, the Briffaults and that of their opponents² Lowie, however, among the latter, deserves at least to be mentioned for his energetic reaction against interpretations of matrilineal descent as a sufficient ground to infer 'that women govern not merely the family, but also the primitive equivalent of the state' [1929:180], which, incidentally, may account for Malinowski's gradual abandon of the term matriarchy or at least the cropping up of inverted commas in his use of the word.

But it is interesting to consider another line of sociologists which originates largely from

1

Fortuitously, for Bachofen, so engrossed in his classical erudite works, paid little attention to either predecessors or contemporary evolutionists [cf. Dörfmann, 1965:1-48].

Bachofen and also from Morgan's 'Ancient Society'. From his principle that 'the great epochs of human progress have been identified, more or less, directly with the enlargement of the sources of subsistence' [1877:19] and his association of a matriarchal stage of evolution with the practice of agriculture by women, stem the interrelated theories of Grosse, Cunow, Engels, some of which survive in Aberle's attempt to correlate the occurrence of matriliney to ecological and economical variables in cross-cultural study.¹

The interest of this line of thinkers lies in their attribution to women of the invention of agriculture, in the case of the more dogmatic among them, in comparison to the fact that the southern Tetun associate womanhood symbolically with earth. This reinforces the impression ~~that, and~~ There is no intention on my part to be ironical, ^{but that} the supremacy of womanhood is a product of man's mind.

Curiously, Leslie White, in an essay on 'L.H. Morgan and the theory of social evolution', manages to avoid completely any mention of the matriarchal stage and its agricultural character which, however, was made into a central point of Morgan's argument on the basis of his Iroquois material and made so

1

In which I fail to understand, to my deep regret, why the Belu should be kept in the 'predominantly plough agriculture' even though the author admits in plain honest words that the Belu, together with four other societies out of his sample of nine societies thus labelled, do not use the plough [in Schneider and Gough 1961:672, n.3].

conspicuous that, if it had not been for Morgan's economic interpretation of the association of mother-right with agriculture, the similar association, founded in contrast on religious grounds by Bachofen, would not probably have stimulated Engels so ardently in supporting it. White's omission which amounts to a perceptual denial or, as some psychologists term it, a resistance, points to the fact, in my view, that the subject of dominance of women, either in an imaginary isle, a hypothetical epoch or in a disputable social structure of some primitive people, is likely to arouse emotional reaction of some kind. Leslie White does not perceive it in Morgan's printed words. The indigenous states of Timor, for their part, have incorporated and fixed it ~~in assuming~~ ^{by assigning} a subordinate status ~~in respect of one to~~ of them considered as dominant because of its ritual and symbolic feminine connotations.

In their midst (Laran, middle, centre), the state of Wehali and its immediate neighbours, the feminine principle is given dominance over the male principle. It is also a happy inland isle of peace, of nonchalance, of refinement, and isle of a golden age, an isle of women, but also, in revenge, an isle of the dead.

To the final practical question which can be asked as to the future of this dominant but, by definition, passive state, very little can be answered. It can be observed, however, that it is remarkably stable. Its guarantee is in the rule of uxori-locality which shows such a great resistance to change. This

resistance amounts to inertia in times of economic and political change, to which the societies of the south plain do not seem to be able to adapt themselves, while their northern neighbours of the hill country, who are men-focused, have a greater adaptability.

What is lacking in this society for its development is, by definition, men 'famous in their own person'. What is lacking in these men is what Virginia Woolf recognized as an advantage of our societies, a condition of woman as object. She wrote in 1928:

Women have served all these centuries as looking glasses possessing the magic and delicious power of reflecting the figure of man at twice its natural size. Without that power probably the earth would still be swamp and jungle. The glories of all our wars would be unknown. We should still be scratching the outlines of deer on the remains of mutton bones and bartering flints for sheep skins or whatever simple ornament took our unsophisticated taste. Supermen and Fingers of Destiny would never have existed. The Tsar and the Kaiser would never have worn crowns or lost them. Whatever may be their use in civilized societies, mirrors are essential to all violent and heroic action. That is why Napoleon and Mussolini both insist so emphatically upon the inferiority of women, for if they were not inferior, they would cease to enlarge. That serves to explain in part the necessity that women so often are to men [1965:37].

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BTLVK	Bijdragen tot de taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, The Hague
IAE	Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, Leyden
IG	De Indische Gids, Amsterdam
KV	Koloniaal Verslag van Bestuur en Staat van N.-I.
TNAG	Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, Amsterdam
TNI	Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië, Zalt-Bommel
VEGKW	Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia

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Plate I

No.1 Decorative pattern of an ancient sheath worn by Wehali women on festive occasions. The 'ikat' pattern presents women and is called 'feto krakat', angry women. Their weird posture, their claw-like fingers and hook-shaped ears warrant this denomination. The ^{sexual figures} ~~sexes~~ of the two pairs of figures on the sides seem to have just released or to be just about to absorb a fetus. The pair of figures in the middle may have a prolapsed uterus condition. The background is reddish brown while the pattern itself has the natural colour of unbleached cotton.

No.2 Decorative pattern of an ancient men's cloak kept in Uma Makoarai, Laran-Fohohun, Wehali. The 'ikat' pattern represent female falcons and is called 'kikit inan Wehali', mother falcons of Wehali. The reduced wings are almost detached from the body. The proportions of the body, head and tail belong to a fish rather than to a bird. Ambiguity is also the impression given by the fact that feminine powers are held by men.

The pattern is yellow on a black background.

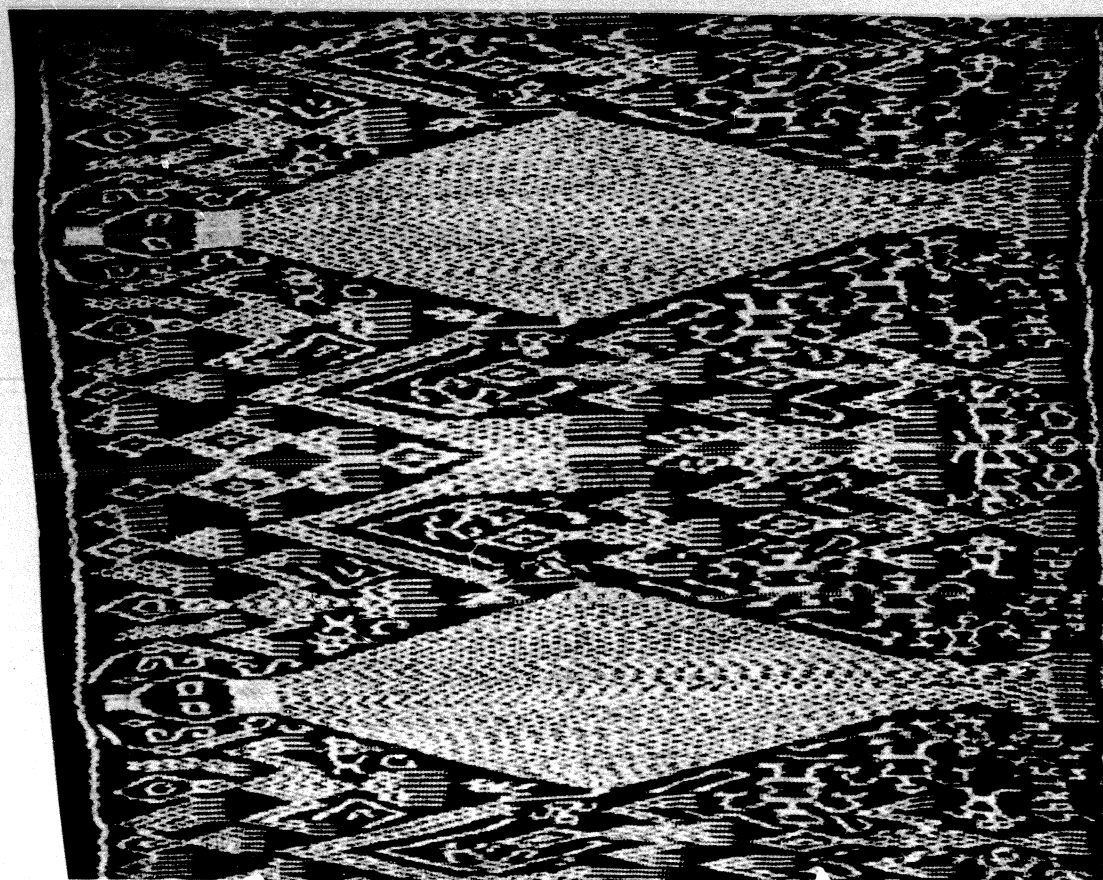


Plate II

Nai Bot, Seran Nahak and, on his left, Nai
Wehali, Taek Baria.



Plate III

Nai Liurai, Louis Sanaka Teeseran, and his
wife, Theresia Taolin, daughter of Domenicus
Taolin, former Radja of Insana.



Plate IV

No.1 Nain Uman Olès seen from Uma Rai Uan. In the background are Uma Ainaka on the left, and Uma Kakaluk Rai Wal on the right, north-west end of Suai, near Kletek, Wehali.

No.2 The 'empty' alternative capital of Laran-Aintasi, Wehali. On the right a part of Uma Makoarai is visible. It was high above the ground on its stilts before the 1939 floods. The other houses have been built since then.

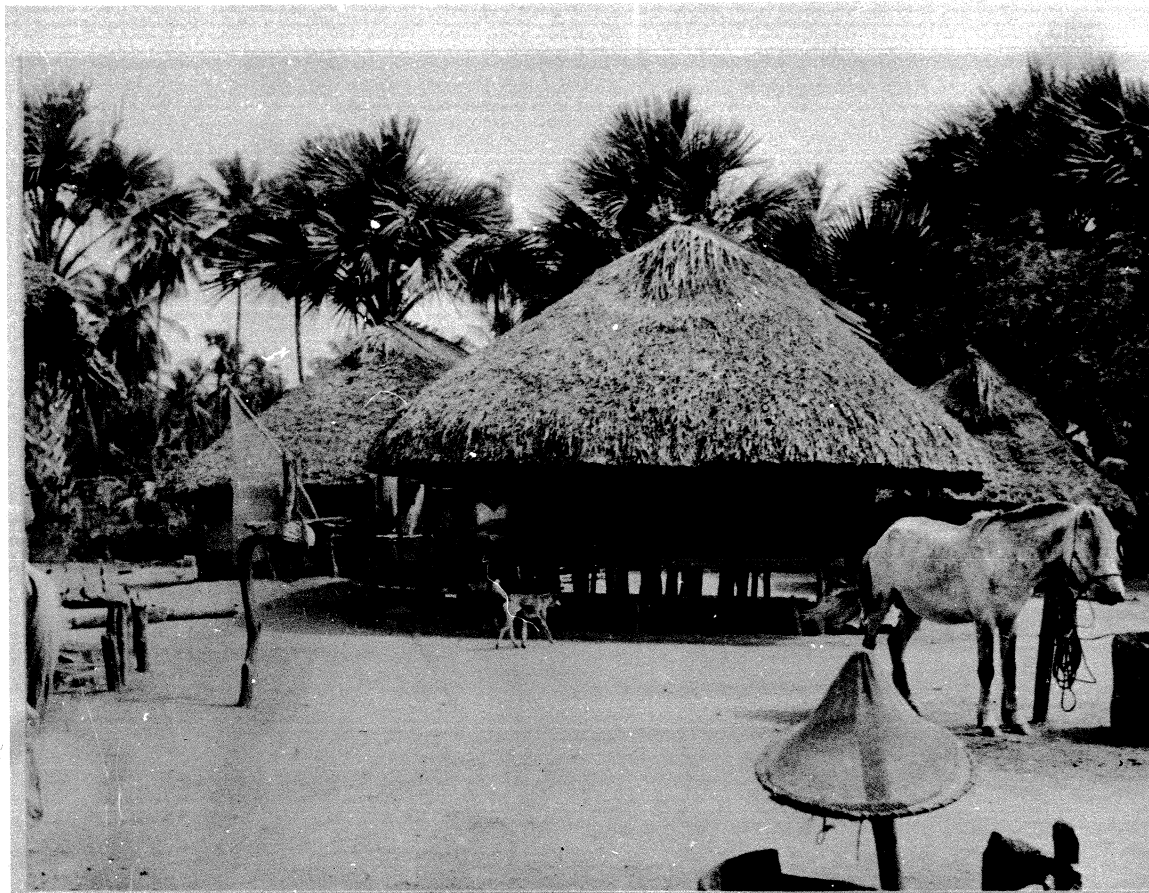


Plate V

No.1 Bei Loo Kletek, a makoan.

No.2 A likurai dance performed after the war-medicine collectors have returned to the village (Nataraien Tasi). Two men with ankle-bells and ancient sabres lead the undulating spiral of girls and women who beat the rhythm with tambourins (bibiliku). The dancer on the foreground is Frans Bere Feto Malae, a faithful informant.

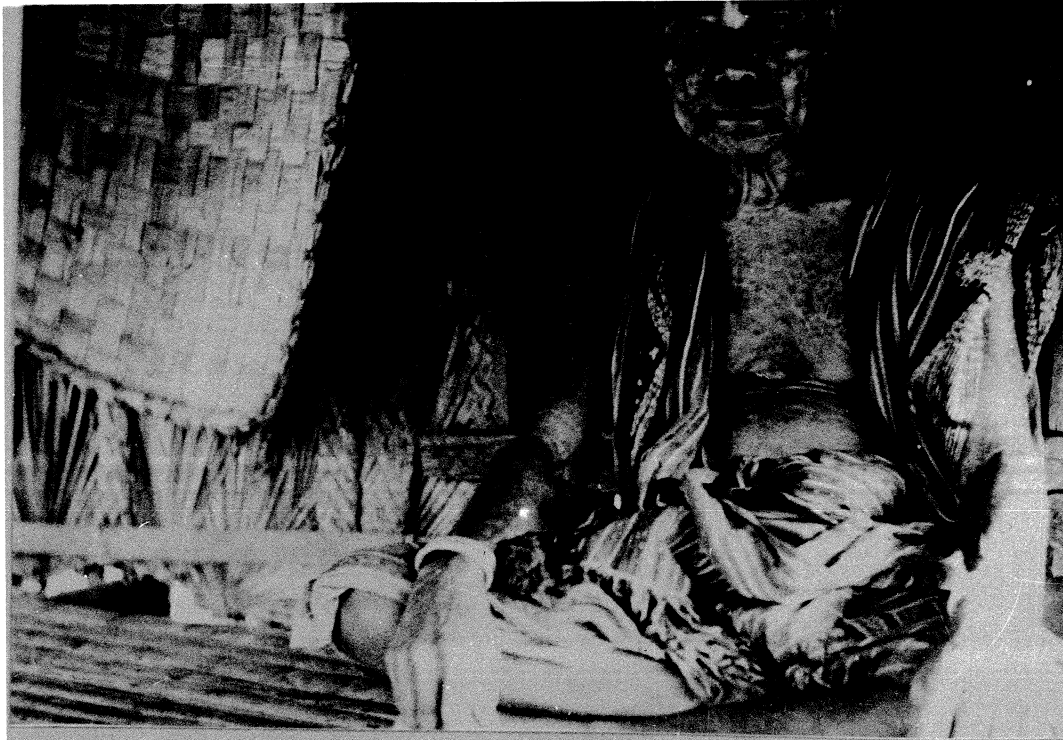


Plate VI

No.1 Sitting on the platform of Uma Rai Uan
 (Suai) are Abuk Bitin and, on her left,
Nahak Usi Bere, a makoan who is better known as
Bei Suai.

No.2 Bei Bere and the oldest makoan of the plain,
Bei Bisik (village of Bakateu).



Plate VII

No.1 Bei Makoan Nahak of Aihun, Lakekun, and

No.2 Bei Loofoun of Loofoun in Rabasa, the two
 most intelligent and reliable of the makoan
 of the plain.



Plate VIII

No.1 The head of Asu
Suli, the Black
Dog, on the lasaen side
of Uma Kotos (Suai).

No.2 A girl of Kamanasa
(Manelima) feeds the
pigs of her house.
(Photograph by Father A. van
Lieshout)

No.3 The decorated models
of houses which boys
hang up the tree on the night
following their circumcision.

No.4 A klakat assemble
before it is
suspended inside (Uma
Laetua of Mane Klaran
(Suai) on the occasion
of its inauguration
(lia uma wen).

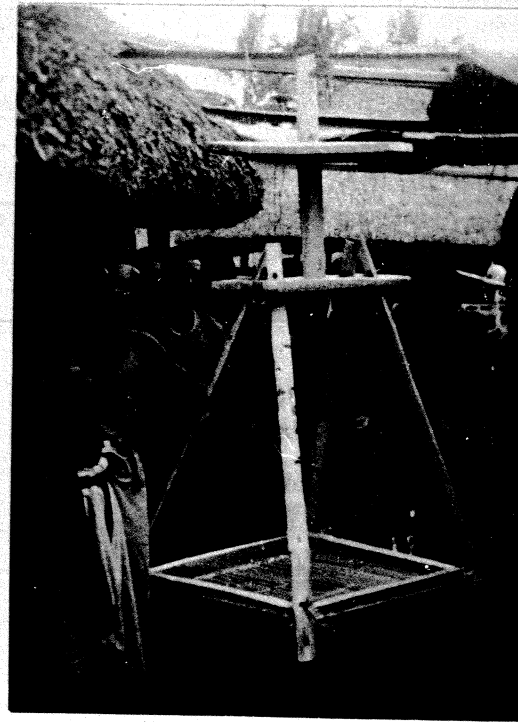
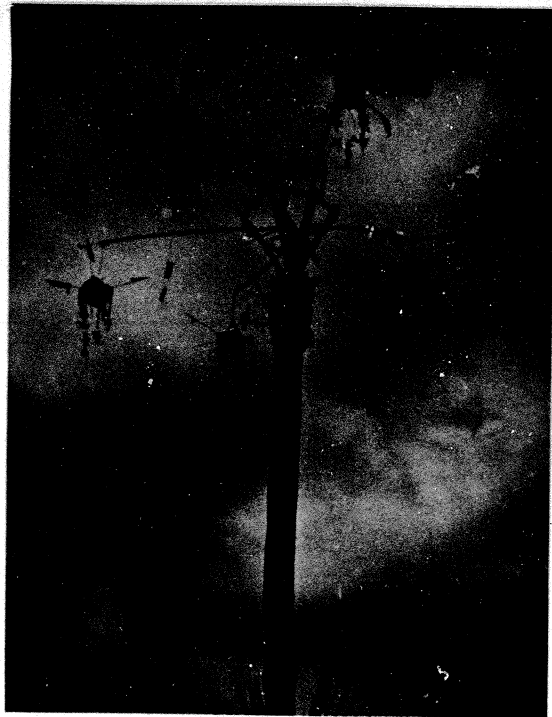


Plate IX

A circumcision (incision) being performed. The village 'barber' introduces the flattened end of a stick under the foreskin and holds the knife upon it. It is the privilege of the patient's 'best man' to hit the knife with another stick.

